
From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2012 5:01:27 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]; Francis Derby [redacted]
Subject: Bobby Slayton

Importance: High

Bobby Slayton will be in LA on Sept. 18th (he said if you are hosting Obama in NY though, he could make the effort to attend)

Below from Bobby re the dinner he would like to have:

> AND Tuesday the 16th is perfect for dinner with David And Lewis And if Woody Makes it GREAT, if not, always fun to hang with JE!!! David Brenner said he would try to change his flight if only Monday works!! But the boys are definately in for Tuesday!!!

May I tell Bobby the 16th is good for dinner AND invite Woody?

Lyn & Jojo are back to work on Oct. 16th (they are home on 15th)

Linda Stone will be in NY and staying in an apt Oct. 13-17

From: I[redacted] [redacted]
Sent: 9/28/2012 2:41:02 PM
To: Lesley Groff [redacted]; [redacted] [[redacted]; [redacted] [[redacted]; Richard Barnnet [redacted]; Louella Rabuyo [redacted]]; Januiz Banasiak [redacted]; Rich Kahn [[redacted]]; Darren Indyke[redacted]; Francis Derby [redacted]; Je vacation [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: 3:00 Wheels up!!

Importance: High

Lesley,
Please inform JEE, Vice President Biden is in West Palm Beach and is schedule to depart between 5pm and 6pm today. He parks at Galaxy ramp also in Palm Beach. The airport will be closed between 5pm and 6pm. Flight time is 2+21min.
we'll need wheels up at 4pm or 2pm. Pls advise which time je prefers?

Thank you,
Larry
------Original Message------
From: Lesley Groff
To: Larry
To: [redacted]
To:
To: Richard Barnnet
To: Louella Rabuyo
To: Januiz Banasiak
To: Rich Kahn
To: Darren Indyke
To: Francis Derby
Subject: 3:00 Wheels up!!
Sent: Sep 28, 2012 10:33 AM

JE has moved wheels up to 3pm today!

LArry, please confirm

Also, Larry please confirm you will organize pick up in PB upon the arrival today
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

Date: Friday, July 15 2016 03:40 AM
Subject: Fwd: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein
From: [redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

How did they get access to this and how is it legal that they are posting this?

[redacted]

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Begin forwarded message:

From: Google Alerts <googlealerts-noreply@google.com>
Date: July 14, 2016 at 10:54:36 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein

Jeffrey Epstein

Daily update · July 15, 2016

NEWS

Daily Mail

[Shocking VIDEO from inside Florida mansion of Bill Clinton's friend **Jeffrey Epstein**]

Daily Mail

These were the images that police found when they searched evil **Jeffrey Epstein's** waterfront mansion. Now Daily Mail Online has exclusively ...

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From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 7/17/2012 8:05:30 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

i spoke with Janusz and he was agreeable and happy to stay on and continue working for you
his wife is still working for trump but that will be short term and she will then look for new work
if janusz still works for you he plans to live on the property with his wife
please advise if i should reinstate his employment and if so as of what date?

PLEASE NOTE EFFECTIVE JUNE 5TH MY CONTACT INFO WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor,
New York, New York 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

On Jul 17, 2012, at 3:46 PM, Jeffrey Epstein wrote:

yes

On Tue, Jul 17, 2012 at 3:44 PM, Richard Kahn <[redacted]> wrote:

> [redacted] just mentioned that you were open to entertaining Janusz staying on with a new clearly defined role
> Should i call and feel him out?
>
> **PLEASE NOTE EFFECTIVE JUNE 5TH MY CONTACT INFO WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:**
>
> Richard Kahn
> HBRK Associates Inc.
> 575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor,
> New York, New York 10022
> tel [redacted]
> fax [redacted]
> cel [redacted]

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/31/2013 12:54:05 AM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Studio

Importance: High

Barak Obama?
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Sun, 31 Mar 2013 01:41:30 +0100
To: paula[redacted]
Subject: Re: Studio

come afterward , i have interesting people. ehud barak, mandelson, zucekrman

On Sun, Mar 31, 2013 at 1:37 AM, [redacted] wrote:

> Hi! Last night we confirmed a studio recording with an stunning soprano to record a new aria Fred wrote. Its early 7:30-9pm on April 4. F really wants to see you, so is after that too late? Wanna join us somewhere to eat after? Wanna come to the studio? Fred will be playing the piano for the demo. Otherwise, we could have a visit anytime you want after the 4th. But if you can, the studio would be fun and I would love to have your input in the booth:). Tora and Miasha might come too. Its an awesome aria sung by a Vampiress who looks just like (better) Vanessa Williams from our day. (The Miss USA that somehow had some haha nudie photos floating around). ANYWAY..what do ya think?
> Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/1/2016 9:50:51 AM
To: [redacted]

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/07/donald-trump-sexual-assault-lawsuits-norm-lubow

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From: Reid Hoffman [redacted]
Sent: 7/6/2015 5:04:31 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: ICYMI

slow progress.

planning to see you in August.

Hope you're well.

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Sunday, July 05, 2015 2:30 PM
To: Reid Hoffman
Subject: Re: ICYMI

heyy it looks like your diet program has worked

On Thu, Jul 2, 2015 at 12:03 AM, Reid Hoffman [redacted] wrote:

ICYMI

My occasional roundup of interesting links and writing I've shared – in case you missed them. :)

New and Notable

- We are thrilled to welcome Sarah Tavel to Greylock Partners. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=fd2b3c4c94&e=5c5da67d46>
- And also very excited to welcome lynda.com<http://lynda.com> to the LinkedIn team! LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=c5d4aeaddb&e=5c5da67d46>
- Change.org celebrates its 100 million users milestone. Emily Chang discuss this and more with CEO Ben Rattray on Bloomberg West: LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=1cecb3c616&e=5c5da67d46>
- Byron Auguste launched Opportunity@Work, a new civic enterprise aimed at "rewiring the U.S. labor market." Tom Friedman's post: LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage1.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=5656e94c3e&e=5c5da67d46>
- Mimi Ito launched Connected Camps, a summer online coding camp using Minecraft. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=fa8ce1e400&e=5c5da67d46>

Worthwhile Reads

- Jeff Weiner: How LinkedIn is Helping Power the President's Tech Jobs Initiative LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage1.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=604ec30797&e=5c5da67d46>
- The New Yorker: R U There? - Nancy Lublin and Crisis Text Line LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=0e06052ca2&e=5c5da67d46>
- Fast Company: Inside Obama's Stealth Startup LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=99ca65f63c&e=5c5da67d46>
- Jerry Chen: The Age of Developer-Defined Infrastructure LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage2.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=266fd91f7c&e=5c5da67d46>
- Sheryl Sandberg's powerful tribute to Dave Goldberg. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=9e42d166b8&e=5c5da67d46>

Some of My Recent Essays

- Wired: Why the block chain matters LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=13d941a4df&e=5c5da67d46>
- Financial Times: Acquiring proven entrepreneurs is a smart way to innovate LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=87d9caa3f0&e=5c5da67d46>
- Press Start to Continue: One More Role of Founders LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=30298b2c77&e=5c5da67d46>

To Watch

  *   My conversation with Peter Thiel at CEIBS LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=a70f0f6e65&e=5c5da67d46>
  *   I enjoyed participating in this fun video by Founders Forum imagining what life would be like for tech entrepreneurs if the World Wide Web had never been invented. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=f57d26e935&e=5c5da67d46>

Interviews

  *   Vox: My discussion with Ezra Klein on the biggest lie employers tell employees LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=3edb875ec8&e=5c5da67d46>
  *   Entrepreneur: Why I'm betting big on Bitcoin LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=26e30a859c&e=5c5da67d46>
  *   HuffPo: My discussion with Dawn Nakagawa in advance of the WorldPost conference LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=15dfcd584d&e=5c5da67d46>[https://gallery.mailchimp.com/3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386/images/af3c3134-98fc-41af-80f5-c8f6ac552a0b.png]

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 7/1/2016 11:05:09 AM
To: jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fw: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

Importance: High

Jeff: see top story. Below
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: New York Post <email@nypost.com>
Date: Fri, 1 Jul 2016 07:01:36 -0400 (EDT)
To: <[redacted]
Subject: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

JULY 1, 2016

Owner of iconic Brooklyn pizza joint gunned down in hit job

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I make thousands by showing off my naked 490-pound body

She sure has a lot to love. Bobbi-Jo Westley, 43, of Pennsylvania, has eight-foot hips, weighs 490 pounds and a fan club of men who call themselves “chubby chasers” and can’t get e...

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Chain of private islands off Connecticut coast up for sale

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Sent: 7/1/2016 11:15:57 AM
To: jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Fw: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

Importance: High

Ha! That fuckin lou barbati, its about time someone nailed him over those nuts
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, 1 Jul 2016 07:06:06 -0400
To: Terry Kafka[redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

too many nuts in the spumoni

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> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
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>
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From: Michael Wolff [redacted]]
Sent: 11/10/2016 9:45:19 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

crazy

On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 4:43 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> al taylor , pr former jerry springer. producer
>
> On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 10:40 PM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> What was behind this, do you know? Or just nutters?
>>
>> On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 4:24 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>
>>> http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/5/2015 9:30:29 PM
To: Reid Hoffman [redacted]
Subject: Re: ICYMI

heyy it looks like your diet program has worked

On Thu, Jul 2, 2015 at 12:03 AM, Reid Hoffman [redacted] wrote:

> **ICYMI**
>
> My occasional roundup of interesting links and writing I've shared — in case you missed them. :)
>
> **New and Notable**
>
> - We are thrilled to welcome Sarah Tavel to Greylock Partners. LINK
> - And also very excited to welcome lynda.com to the LinkedIn team! LINK
> - Change.org celebrates its 100 million users milestone. Emily Chang discuss this and more with CEO Ben Rattray on Bloomberg West: LINK
> - Byron Auguste launched Opportunity@Work, a new civic enterprise aimed at "rewiring the U.S. labor market." Tom Friedman's post: LINK
> - Mimi Ito launched Connected Camps, a summer online coding camp using Minecraft. LINK
>
> **Worthwhile Reads**
>
> - Jeff Weiner: How LinkedIn is Helping Power the President's Tech Jobs Initiative LINK
> - The New Yorker: R U There? - Nancy Lublin and Crisis Text Line LINK
> - Fast Company: Inside Obama's Stealth Startup LINK
> - Jerry Chen: The Age of Developer-Defined Infrastructure LINK

- Sheryl Sandberg's powerful tribute to Dave Goldberg. LINK

Some of My Recent Essays

- Wired: Why the block chain matters LINK
- Financial Times: Acquiring proven entrepreneurs is a smart way to innovate LINK
- Press Start to Continue: One More Role of Founders LINK

To Watch

- My conversation with Peter Thiel at CEIBS LINK
- I enjoyed participating in this fun video by Founders Forum imagining what life would be like for tech entrepreneurs if the World Wide Web had never been invented. LINK

Interviews

- Vox: My discussion with Ezra Klein on the biggest lie employers tell employees LINK
- Entrepreneur: Why I'm betting big on Bitcoin LINK
- HuffPo: My discussion with Dawn Nakagawa in advance of the WorldPost conference LINK

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/28/2018 4:52:58 PM
To: Steve Bannon [[redacted]]

Ribis's Italian immigrant parents taught him to be tightfisted, but it was the Donald who introduced him to dealmaking. As a kid in the New Jersey suburbs, Ribis rose before dawn to count the empty soda bottles at the family deli "so the suppliers couldn't cheat my mom on the deposits." When Trump faced bankruptcy in 1989, he turned to the team of Ribis and Steve Bollenbach, now CEO of Hilton Hotels, to fend off the banks and bondholders. Ribis helped persuade creditors to let Trump keep his trophy holding: his casinos. It was the gaming company's IPO in 1995, orchestrated by Ribis, that restored Trump's wealth.

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From: US GIO [us.gio@jpmorgan.com]
Sent: 6/14/2011 11:54:12 AM
To: Undisclosed recipients:
Subject: Eye on the Market, June 14, 2011
Attachments: image001.png; 06-14-11 - EOTM - The Stratford Inn.pdf

Eye on the Market, June 14, 2011 (attached PDF is easier to read)

Market update: for better or worse, this is the kind of year we were expecting. We were surprised at the market's unbridled optimism in April*, since the tug-of-war between private sector profits and public sector problems has a long way to go. We chose the charts on the front page of our 2011 Outlook carefully; they were designed to show that equity markets were priced inexpensively, but were likely to stay that way, given too much stimulus in the East, and ineffective stimulus in the West **. We expect a modest second half recovery, based primarily on US capital spending increases, easy credit conditions everywhere, and a pick-up in industrial production in Japan. But the world's structural problems are weighing on the private sector, and our portfolios are positioned for a single-digit year in credit, equities and hedge funds.

* The Osama Bin Laden episode marked the equity market peak. Some commentators saw this event as a basis for further optimism, but unsurprisingly, the positive glow lasted for only around 2.5 hours the subsequent Monday. According to the Congressional Research Service, **over the last decade, the US has spent at least $1.1 trillion in war funding operations, surpassing the constant-dollar cost of the Korean and Vietnam Wars combined**. This highlights the disproportionately large pain that small, non-sovereign entities can inflict in the modern era.

** So far, the large growth and employment multipliers from deficit spending estimated by Christina Romer (former Chair of the President's Council of Economic Advisers) have not materialized. John Taylor and John Cogan from Stanford have been closer to the mark: an initial boost, but then a rapidly fading benefit

Something different this week. I was on the road seeing clients last week, and was asked "*what should be done about job growth*". We are investors and not politicians, so my ideas [a] are not relevant. However, it seems to me that **anyone involved in the jobs debate should be required to read the article below, written after the prior deep US recession (1990-1991)**. It's from George McGovern, one of the most liberal politicians [b] ever to hold office and run for President. His epiphanies after leaving office and running the Stratford Inn are worth considering as legislators contemplate additional job creation measures, and the broader regulatory environment in which the private sector operates.

"A Politician's Dream Is a Businessman's Nightmare", by George McGovern, June 1992 [c]

Wisdom too often never comes, and so one ought not to reject it merely because it comes late. (Justice Felix Frankfurter). It's been 11 years since I left the U.S. Senate, after serving 24 years in high public office. After leaving a career in politics, I devoted much of my time to public lectures that took me into every state in the union and much of Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America.

In 1988, I invested most of the earnings from this lecture circuit acquiring the leasehold on Connecticut's Stratford Inn. Hotels, inns and restaurants have always held a special fascination for me. The Stratford Inn promised the realization of a longtime dream to own a combination hotel, restaurant and public conference facility--complete with an experienced manager and staff. In retrospect, I wish I had known more about the hazards and difficulties of such a business, especially during a recession of the kind that hit New England just as I was acquiring the inn's 43-year leasehold. **I also wish that during the years I was in public office, I had had this firsthand experience about the difficulties business people face every day. That knowledge would have made me a better U.S. senator and a more understanding presidential contender.**

Today we are much closer to a general acknowledgment that government must encourage business to expand and grow. Bill Clinton, Paul Tsongas, Bob Kerrey and others have, I believe, **changed the debate of our party [d].** We intuitively know that **to create job opportunities we need entrepreneurs who will risk their capital against an expected payoff. Too often, however, public policy does not consider whether we are choking off those opportunities.**

My own business perspective has been limited to that small hotel and restaurant in Stratford, Conn., with an especially difficult lease and a severe recession. But my business associates and I also lived with federal, state and local rules that were all passed with the objective of helping employees, protecting the environment, raising tax dollars for schools, protecting our customers from fire hazards, etc. While I never doubted the worthiness of any of these goals, the concept that most often eludes legislators is: `Can we make consumers pay the higher prices for the increased operating costs that accompany public regulation and government reporting requirements with reams of red tape.' **It is a simple concern that is nonetheless often ignored by legislators [e].** For example, the papers today are filled with stories about businesses dropping health coverage for employees. We provided a substantial package for our staff at the Stratford Inn. However, were we operating today, those costs would exceed $150,000 a year for health care on top of salaries and other benefits. There would have been no reasonable way for us to absorb or pass on these costs.

Some of the escalation in the cost of health care is attributed to patients suing doctors. While one cannot assess the merit of all these claims, I've also witnessed firsthand the explosion in blame-shifting and scapegoating for every negative experience in life. Today, despite bankruptcy, we are still dealing with litigation from individuals who fell in or near our restaurant. Despite these injuries, not every misstep is the fault of someone else. Not every such incident should be viewed as a lawsuit instead of an unfortunate accident. **And while the business owner may prevail in the end, the endless exposure to frivolous claims and high legal fees is frightening**.

Our Connecticut hotel, along with many others, went bankrupt for a variety of reasons, the general economy in the Northeast being a significant cause. But that reason masks the variety of other challenges we faced that drive operating costs and financing charges beyond what a small business can handle. It is clear that some businesses have products that can be priced at almost any level. The price of raw materials (e.g., steel and glass) and life-saving drugs and medical care are not easily substituted by consumers. It is only competition or antitrust that tempers price increases. Consumers may delay purchases, but they have little choice when faced with higher prices. In services, however, consumers do have a choice when faced with higher prices. You may have to stay in a hotel while on vacation, but you can stay fewer days. You can eat in restaurants fewer times per month, or forgo a number of services from car washes to shoeshines. Every such decision eventually results in job losses for someone. And often these are the people without the skills to help themselves--the people I've spent a lifetime trying to help.

In short, “one-size-fits-all” rules for business ignore the reality of the market place. And setting thresholds for regulatory guidelines at artificial levels--e.g., 50 employees or more, $500,000 in sales--takes no account of other realities, such as profit margins, labor intensive vs. capital intensive businesses, and local market economics. The problem we face as legislators is: **Where do we set the bar so that it is not too high to clear? I don't have the answer. I do know that we need to start raising these questions more often.**

So, there you have it, one of the more remarkable epiphanies in American politics: a paean to entrepreneurship and government restraint from one of its most progressive members. Public epiphanies like this are rare, but there have been others. Last year, Al Gore conceded that first-generation ethanol was “not good policy” given its low energy conversion ratios, and said he had supported ethanol out of “a certain fondness for the farmers in the state of Iowa because I was about to run for president" [f]. In 2008, former Fed Chair Greenspan conceded that his Ayn Rand philosophies regarding regulations and shareholder self-interest were flawed. Perhaps the most famous epiphany was from Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense and one of the principal architects of the Vietnam War. In 1995, he conceded that he was “wrong, terribly wrong” about the war. George McGovern was one of the war’s fiercest opponents, saying on the floor of the Senate, “I'm tired of old men dreaming up wars for young men to fight”.

There may be no magic elixir of policies to speed the adjustment the US faces. Look at it this way: the US is trying the mega-stimulus route, while the UK has accelerated its fiscal austerity program. Yet both countries are struggling with below-trend growth and employment. Perhaps after a debt binge, there are no easy answers, other than time. What to do next? McGovern’s article suggests that an overly interventionist public sector may be the wrong answer, given the unintended consequences.

Michael Cembalest
Chief Investment Officer

Notes

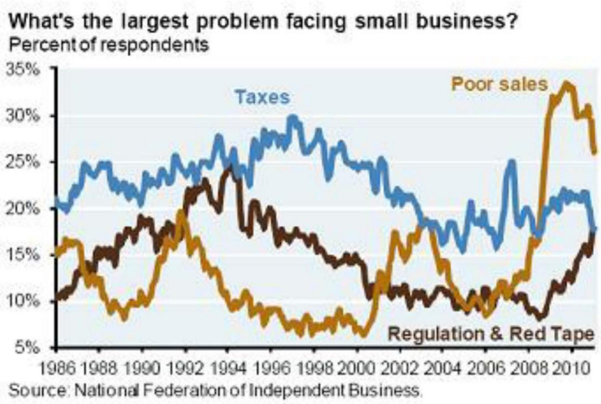
[a] I like the idea of **extending the holding period for short term capital gains to 3-5 years, and cutting the long term capital gains rate closer to 5%-10%**. It could encourage more business formation, since more of what people create, they keep. If the cutoff year is properly set, it could be done on a deficit–neutral basis.

[b] According to methodology described by Keith Poole of the University of San Diego in the *American Journal of Political Science*, **McGovern ranks as the 99th most liberal politician out of 3,320** politicians serving from 1937 to 2002.

[c] In a letter to the Wall Street Journal. Reprinted with permission; emphasis added.

[d] This may not have been a permanent change. The National Taxpayers Union rated the Blue Dog Democrats as having a fiscal conservatism score of 52% in 1995; by 2009, it had fallen to 18%.

[e] Would McGovern's focus on red tape make sense today? **According to surveys conducted by the National Federation of Small Business, the answer would be yes.** The 3 issues most frequently mentioned as each respondent's "single most important problem" are Poor Sales, Regulation & Red Tape, and Taxes. Two things of note. First, Regulation & Red Tape concerns have been steadily rising over the last two years. Secondly, availability of credit does not show up as an issue. As the NFIB wrote in May 2011, "92 percent reported that all their credit needs were met or that they were not interested in borrowing. Eight percent reported that not all of their credit needs were satisfied. Three percent reported financing as their #1 business problem, so credit supply is not a problem for the overwhelming majority."


What's the largest problem facing small business?
Percent of respondents

Source: National Federation of Independent Business.

[f] As reported by Reuters, Gerald Wynn, November 22, 2010.

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Eye on the Market | June 14, 2011 J.P.Morgan

Topics: On lessons learned running the Stratford Inn

Market update: for better or worse, this is the kind of year we were expecting. We were surprised at the market's unbridled optimism in April[1], since the tug-of-war between private sector profits and public sector problems has a long way to go. We chose the charts on the front page of our 2011 Outlook carefully; they were designed to show that equity markets were priced inexpensively, but were likely to stay that way, given too much stimulus in the East, and ineffective stimulus in the West[2]. We expect a modest second half recovery, based primarily on US capital spending increases, easy credit conditions everywhere, and a pick-up in industrial production in Japan. But the world's structural problems are weighing on the private sector, and our portfolios are positioned for a single-digit year in credit, equities and hedge funds.

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Topics: On lessons learned running the Stratford Inn

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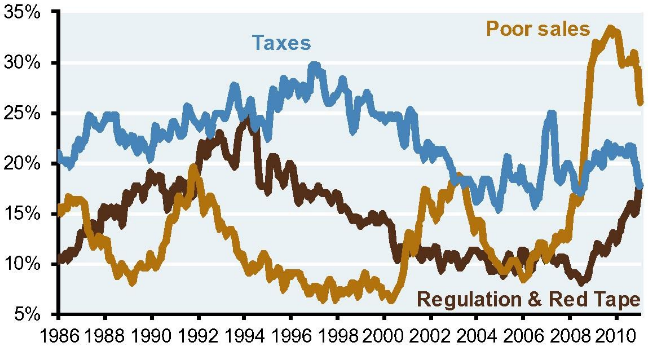
Percent of respondents



Source: National Federation of Independent Business.

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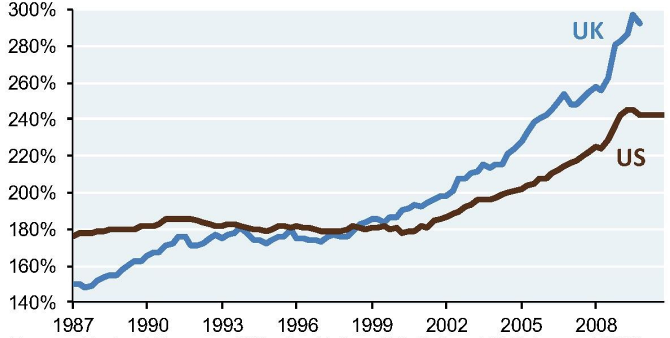
US and UK still searching for answers
Total household, non-financial corporate, federal and municipal debt, percent of GDP



Source: Federal Reserve, Office for National Statistics. UK Data as of 2009.

Michael Cembalest
Chief Investment Officer

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[8] As reported by Reuters, Gerald Wynn, November 22, 2010.

Continued from page 24

completions & refurbs

speaking with a potential 787 customer who is a repeat client,” said Jonas, “and the talks are pretty far along.”

Greenpoint Technologies is currently modifying two 747-8s delivered from Boeing and installing the center’s

StandardAero in Springfield, Ill. does major refurbishment on large- to small-cabin jets. “Anything that can be done with an interior, we do in Springfield,” says StandardAero’s Scott Taylor.

Aeroloft rest area in each before further delivery of the airplanes to other completion centers for outfitting.

The Aeroloft is located in the area above the main deck and aft of the upper-deck, forward lounge in the executive 747. It was designed, engineered and is built by Greenpoint. The center is licensed by Boeing to do the necessary modifications and installation. It will receive EASA certification this year and adds 393 additional sq ft to the 4,786 ft in the main deck and upper lounge.

Sloan Benson, executive v-p at Greenpoint, said interest is growing in the Aerolift elevator it designed for the 747-8. “We’re expecting to book one later this year.”

Greenpoint has contracts to modify three more 747-8s for the Aeroloft. Two of them, like the first two, will go on to other centers for installation of the Aeroloft kit and for the full interior completion. A fifth green 747-8 will arrive next year and remain at Greenpoint for full outfitting. It will be the Kirkland, Wash. center’s first green completion of a twin-aisle airplane, an appropriate way to mark Greenpoint’s 25th anniversary in the business.

Gore Design Completion delivered two twin-aisle airplanes in 2011: a 767 to a central Asian head of state and a 777.

Kathy Gore Walters, co-founder and president, said the company expects to deliver its first BBJ3 in June for a Middle East client, and in the same month to turn over an ACJ320 for a central Asian client. Later this year, Gore design expects also to deliver two ACJ340s.

Pats Aircraft Systems continues to install its FAA-certified auxiliary fuel systems in BBJs. “We’ve done more than 140 aux fuel systems installations on behalf of Boeing,” said senior v-p of sales and marketing John Eichten.

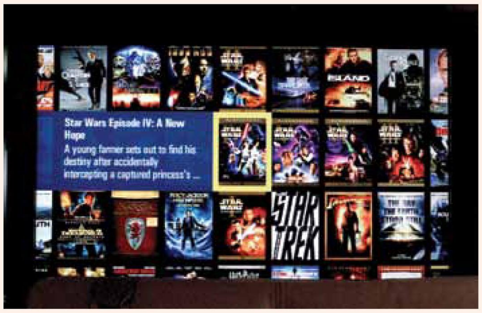
Continues on page 28

SKYTHEATER TAKES MOVIES TO THE MAX

Earlier this year, a flying theater rolled up to the Signature FBO on Teterboro Airport’s south side in the form of a Global Express XRS equipped with an entertainment system called SkyTheater. With it came SkyTheater founder Gregg Launer, 52, a friendly bear of a man who tries for modesty but whose enthusiasm spills close to hubris when he describes the custom-built entertainment package as being to the average movie experience what Sofia Vergara is to simply being female. Launer is something of a likeable version of Steven Jobs. His knowledge in the world of sound is such that he frequently stops and searches his vocabulary for language that the average listener will understand. And frequently failing, he will offer an apology and start over. In his own circle, he is often described by clients as a genius. To lesser human beings, his thoughts seem to run like a pinball through the random light and sound of an arcade game, with a purpose difficult to recognize.

“I’m a true audiophile, and what I’m building is a sensory experience that will so completely absorb my clients that it becomes reality and they lose themselves in the world that the director or cameraman or composer created,” he explains. “I build every system as if it were going into my own airplane. I want to impress even myself, and I’m my own worst critic.”

PHOTOS: KIRBY J. HARRISON



Star Wars Episode IV: A New Hope
A young farmer sets out to find his destiny after accidentally intercepting a captured princess’s...
STAR TREK

SkyTheater founder Gregg Launer put nearly 1,000 movies into a Global Express Avod.

His earliest memories are of music and theater and lying awake in bed and listening to legendary DJ Cousin Brucie lay down a cascade of rock and roll on New York’s powerhouse WABC. Even decades later, one of his favorite toys at home is a Rock-Ola Jukebox. “When you listen to Dean Martin, or Elvis, or Chuck Berry on a jukebox, you’re hearing rock and roll the way it was made to be heard,” he avows.

And he recalls a summer when his parents took him on vacation to the Deauville Beach Resort in Miami Beach, where The Supremes were performing. “They were in the room across the hall from us, and Mary Wilson and Flo Ballard shared a cabana next to ours. I was too young to attend the show, but the resort manager had mercy on me, took me by the hand and put me in the front row.”

By the age of 18, Launer held a first-class radiotelephone license from the FCC and by 19 was an audio engineer producing music tracks at NBC in Miami. And along the way, he also indulged what he describes as his alternative passion of flying, picking up his private license and going on to become a flight instructor.

At the age of 32, he and wife, Blanche, formed a company that two years later became SkyTheater. And as if life had determined to create a movie script for him, Launer’s first customer and later friend was Alexander Zuyev, the pilot who defected in spectacular manner from the former Soviet Union in 1989, at the same time delivering a MiG-29 into western hands. “He loved America and would have the most incredible Fourth of July parties. But instead of beer and burgers, he would serve vodka and caviar. It was his belief in me that helped launch SkyTheater.”

Getting Off the Ground

Launer’s first theater in the sky was for businessman and entrepreneur Wayne Huizenga of Blockbuster and the airplane was a BAC 1-11. Then came a Boeing 727-200 and Launer was off and running.

It was a time when digital technology was in its infancy and the reliability was still in question. So Launer devised a way for all the soundtracks to play through a single system (either 7.1 or 5.1 surround sound), with 19-inch touchscreen, video monitor/controllers throughout the cabin and two 43-inch plasma monitors. “Ten years later,” claims Launer, “that airplane was still state of the art.”

In the late 1990s some of those working for producer/director George Lucas’ Skywalker Ranch happened to listen to the SkyTheater system Launer had installed in the 727. He was immediately recruited and spent the next two years–off and on–there, working and learning. Launer remembers being “incredibly fortunate” to be part of a group that was “setting the standards that still exemplify visual film and movie soundtracks today.”

In the meantime, Launer had formed a SkyTheater partnership in Fort Lauderdale with friend and fellow traveler Andrew Guenther, who owns Advanced Audio Design, a home-theater firm in Sarasota, Fla.

“He handles a lot of the equipment and designs the electronics that make everything work. Andrew does a guy’s home theater, and if the guy owns an airplane, SkyTheater does the cabin entertainment,” says Launer.

Guenther’s talent and influence is such, claims Launer, “that high-end audiovisual electronics manufacturers will often come to him for his input before introducing some new technology at a major trade show.”

Among Guenther’s home theater customers are movie actor John Travolta, basketball coach Pat Riley, singer Gloria Estefan “and more who prefer not to be named,” he says.

Though focused on two different theater markets, Guenther and Launer are involved together in a music project designed to “recruit and produce live venues for musicians

Continues on page 28

Quick Takes

Goodrich Near Completion

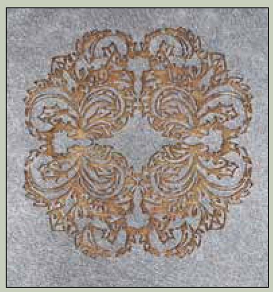
Last year, United Technologies agreed to the acquisition of Goodrich in a deal that called for UT to shell out $16.5 billion cash and assume $1.9 billion in assumed debt. The acquisition by UT was to be finalized by the end of last month.

The acquisition would bring to UT Goodrich’s rapidly growing interiors business, much of it acquired by Goodrich in 2010 from DeCrane Aerospace. Goodrich describes the seating, cabin management and entertainment systems and cabinetry as part of its “total cabin capability” for everything in business jet cabin components.

Leather and Lace Comes from Edelman

Edelman Leather has introduced a new Leather & Lace line, inspired by the work of artists from the studios of Belgium, Hungary and Slovakia and transferred through the use of laser etching and cutting technology.

Inspired by the die-cut felt work of Jasper Morrison, the Dutch designers have introduced to the Moooi, Broog and Vitra lines hauntingly elegant chandeliers by Diller Scofidio & Renfro for Swarovski, and the collections of Prada, McQueen, Louis and Lanvin.



Edelman’s new Leather & Lace line is a new play on age-old craftsmanship from Belgium, Hungary and Slovakia.

Edelman’s artists describe the results of this new line on its Cavallini hair-on hides as “chic and fun.” Other leathers appropriate for the Leather & Lace designs include Napoli and Royal Suede.

Metrica Aviation Makes Move at Nuremberg Airport

Maintenance, repair and overhaul specialist Aero-Dienst, in the process of increasing its usable space at Germany’s Nuremberg Airport with another hangar, has added 27,000 sq ft and considerable refurbishment expertise through a partnership with Metrica Aviation Interior.

“We are now able to offer an operator interior repair and refurbishment simultaneous with other maintenance, all under one roof,” said Aero-Dienst managing director Martin Bauer. The two companies began working together in January this year and Metrica has already completed several refurbishments.

Metrica is an established business, a subsidiary of Qatar’s Ghanim bin Saad al Saad and Sons Group Holdings.

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completions & refurbs

Eichten said Pats did a nine-year maintenance check on a BBJ last year and included a major refurbishment at the same time. The center has also sent out "quite a number of bids" on BBJs due for the 12-year maintenance check, and all include "substantial refurbishment work."

King Aerospace is looking toward the bizliner business for a boost. "We're in discussions now with international customers for executive conversions and even a green airplane completion," said Jerry King. "And they're all widebodies."

According to David Edinger, CEO at Comlux America in Indianapolis, many of the early Airbus A319s and Boeing Business Jets have had minimal cabin upgrades since they entered service some 12 years ago, and the cabin electronics are practically antique.

A technician in the Goodrich interior paint shop in Wichita applies finish to a piece of cabin cabinetry.

Edinger said Comlux America, part of The Comlux Group in Switzerland, is "really starting to roll."

He told **AIN** the first green airplane has been delivered–an ACJ319–and it came in 1,000 pounds below the completion allowance weight. It also tested with an average cabin noise level of 48 dB(SIL), "about what you might expect in a suburban living room, and it was under the projected noise level by 3 dB(SIL)."

Currently undergoing refurbishment is a Boeing 757 and a pair of Airbus ACJs. In the second quarter this year, a BBJ to be outfitted for Hyundai was scheduled to roll into the Comlux hangar. Comlux America is approved by both Airbus and Boeing for interior outfitting. "We want to focus on BBJs and ACJs and do this segment well and on time," said The Comlux Group president Richard Gaona.

Lufthansa Technik in Hamburg, Germany, is working on a Boeing 767 executive interior and is looking for two 747-8s to roll in by year-end.

Walter Heerdt, Lufthansa's senior v-p of marketing and sales, expects the

Continues on page 30

A private lavatory in a narrow-body bizliner features liberal use of dark veneer and a marble countertop.

SkyTheater | Continued from preceding page

in unique multi-channel surround-sound, as well as to promote them to the film and television industries for soundtrack recordings."

In 2007, "an executive closely associated with the Internet industry came to Launer with his new Global Express XRS, and made it clear that what he wanted was far beyond anything off-the-shelf." In 2008 the airplane was delivered with a complete and custom-built SkyTheater that includes:

- 1080p high-bandwidth wiring throughout
- monitors and speakers
- audiovisual on-demand (Avod) with a library of more than 1,000 movies.
- a SkyTheater app to allow passengers to use personal iPhones and iPads to control all aspects of the entertainment system.
- a customized touch-screen control package.

"The owner can also customize the sound balance in the cabin by simply going through the field until he finds a 'flavor' he likes," explains Launer. "In this particular airplane," says Launer, "SkyTheater is pre-tuned for the owner's personal tastes to reproduce audio identical to what he would hear in the Hollywood Bowl or Lincoln Center or some other popular venue."

Totally Absorbed in the Moment

Putting SkyTheater through its paces on the Global, Launer selects surround sound and asks visitors to walk through the entire cabin, to sit anywhere they like, even lie on the floor and note any change in the audio. His grin broadens as not one individual professes to detect a difference.

Launer goes on to select *Star Wars Episode VI: Return of the Jedi*, picking the scene of the chase on Ewok speeder bikes through the forest of Endor. "Now listen closely," he advises. As the action roars across the screen, it is perfectly paced by the sound in that reality, "and if I hadn't told you to listen, you would have been totally absorbed by the experience without realizing why.

"What I aim for is not only a perfect audio system, but one that is perfectly synchronized with the film," he says.

But is it high-definition? Launer expresses mock surprise at the question. Then he admits that not everything in the Global's film bank is HD; however, he also points out that with the technology to tune the system properly, even a pre-digital recording will be rendered in sufficient high definition as to be almost unrecognizable as anything else. And he also explains that simply having a Blu-ray player or Avod and an HD monitor does not ensure an HD experience. "You have to have the bandwidth to carry the signal that will allow 1080p between the origin and the final destination."

While the system in the Global Express XRS is now almost four years old, and SkyTheater has since done several more airplanes, including Donald Trump's recently completed Boeing 757, the entertainment package in the XRS remains, he claims, "years ahead of anything else."

Warren Justice, chief pilot on the Global, chuckles when he remembers his first meeting with Launer, "a big guy dressed like a biker and wearing a black beret. But he knew what he was talking about and no one in this company has regretted listening," Justice continues. "I've never heard anything like what he put into this airplane. Even after it was installed, he insisted on going with us on a flight test to tune the sound for cruise at 41,000 feet. He personally programmed the individual controls. It was so well thought out that the owner went right into it on the first day and didn't need a single lesson."

Since installation, the airplane has been all over the world and not a single component of the entertainment system has needed to be changed, said Justice. However, he adds, on several occasions, when the airplane was passing through Florida with a stop-over, Launer has insisted on coming out to see if the system was still properly tuned.

The system is not inexpensive, allows Justice. Just a little north of a million dollars. But he adds, "If this is what you want, you'll definitely get what you pay for. I don't know how we could have done any better."

Theo Kalomirakis, president of Theo Kalomirakis Theaters of Brooklyn, N.Y., is one of the foremost designers of home theaters in the world and has consistently turned down requests to do an in-flight theater. "I have been skeptical of the ability of anyone to control sound in such an environment," he told **AIN**. "What Gregg designed and built on that Global Express is the first serious system I've heard. Gregg has tamed the beast."

But it isn't just a matter of being good at what you do, says Launer. "It's a matter of passion, and of loving what you do. Think of SkyTheater as a personal transporter [a la Star Trek]. You step into it in New York City and you step out of it in Los Angeles, and everything in between was just a moment in time." –K.J.H.

Quick Takes

Iacobucci Shines at EBACE

Iacobucci HF appeared at EBACE with a new espresso maker for the business jet galley and a galley cart that doesn't look out of place on a large private jet.

The 28V espresso machine does not work with the usual boiler but with patented heat exchangers to ensure instant and continuous operation without waiting for the water to reheat after each use. In addition, the heat exchanger makes for a much lighter machine, and its "open system" allows the use of all easy-serve espresso pods.

The serving cart, created by DesignworksUSA, features attachable "skins" or even transparent windows to allow passengers to see available items. For use in a private jet, the top surface can be modified for a more formal appearance.

"We brought the style, fit and finish that customers expect to find in premium environments at home to enhance their on-board experience," said Laurenz Schaffer, president of BMW Group DesignworksUSA.

IACOBUCCIHF

An espresso maker and an executive galley cart are two new items from Italy's Iacobucci HF.

AirGlide Coatings Cut Fuel Burn

Aviation marketing consultancy Action Aviation has signed an exclusive distribution agreement with AirGlide, a UK company that claims that its new Aviation Shield nano-technology coating can result in fuel-burn savings of about 4 percent through a drag reduction of up to 40 percent.

According to Action Aviation's website, an ACJ318 on a two-hour flight might burn 9,500 pounds of fuel. With the AirGlide coating, the same aircraft would burn 200 pounds less fuel over that same route.

Other advantages include reducing the carbon footprint, reducing cleaning and maintenance costs and greater protection against corrosion and erosion. It also means, the company claims, that the exterior paint will last longer.

AkzoNobel Wins Airbus Approval

AkzoNobel Aerospace Coatings of the Netherlands has received approval of its Aerobase base coat and Aviox UVR clearcoat system from Airbus as an option.

The system allows selective removal of only the base coat/clear coat in preparation for repainting, leaving the original primer intact and thereby saving the aircraft owner time and money, according to the Amsterdam-based company.

Further, AkzoNobel said the system "was developed in line with one of Airbus's key objectives to produce aircraft that are friendlier to the environment and more eco-efficient." The base coat/clear coat system is ready for use in series production.

Continues on page 30

From: Peter Attia [redacted]
Sent: 8/6/2015 12:41:53 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Bill Clinton Encouraged Donald Trump to Run

Importance: High

Funny article

Bill Clinton reportedly had an intriguing phone call with Donald Trump weeks before his campaign launch

Rudolph W. Giuliani, Donald Trump, and Bill Clinton attend the 2008 Joe Torre Safe at Home Foundation Golf Classic at Trump National Golf Club on July 14, 2008, in Briarcliff Manor, New York.
Former President Bill Clinton and real-estate magnate Donald Trump reportedly had a phone conversation in May, only weeks before Trump launched his campaign.

According to a new report from The Washington Post, Clinton called Trump in May and "encouraged Trump's efforts" to become more influential within the GOP, according to four "Trump allies" and one Clinton associate "familiar with the exchange."

From The Washington Post's Robert Costa and Anne Gearan:

"Four Trump allies and one Clinton associate familiar with the exchange said that Clinton encouraged Trump's efforts to play a larger role in the Republican Party and offered his own views of the political landscape."

"The tone of the call was informal and Clinton never urged Trump to run, the four people said. Rather, they said, Clinton sounded curious about Trump's moves toward a presidential bid and told Trump that he was striking a chord with frustrated conservatives and was a rising force on the right."

Hillary Clinton, Bill's wife, is the front-runner for the Democratic nomination for president in 2016.

The Clintons have long had ties with the real-estate magnate. As The Post notes, Hillary Clinton attended Trump's wedding in 2005, and the reality-television personality donated money to her past Senate campaigns, though he has also donated to several of his own Republican presidential rivals. He has said those donations were transactional.

The former president has spoken positively of Trump in the past.

In a 2012 interview with CNN, Clinton said he liked Trump, despite the real-estate mogul's controversial campaign to get President Barack Obama to release his birth certificate.

"Donald Trump has been uncommonly nice to Hillary and me. We're all New Yorkers," Clinton said. "I like him. And I love playing golf with him."

Aides to both Bill Clinton and Trump did not comment on record to The Post. Hillary Clinton's campaign also didn't respond to a request for comment.

Bill Clinton has occasionally doled out advice to Republican presidential candidates.

In 2012, Clinton reportedly gave former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney (R) some tips before his successful debate with President Barack Obama, telling the governor how to appear in command onstage.

From: Flipboard 10 for Today [editorialstaff@flipboard.com]
Sent: 6/27/2019 7:35:06 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: A sperm donor family portrait

Flipboard

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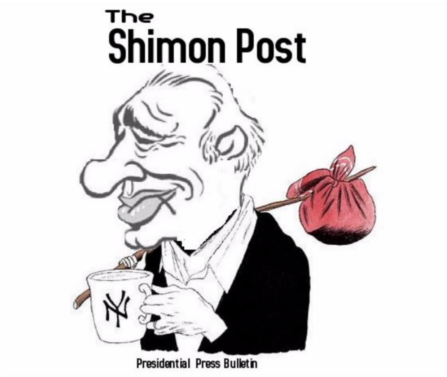

29 March, 2011

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Article 8.	Wall Street Journal **Norway to Jews: You're Not Welcome Here** Alan M. Dershowitz

Article 1.

Foreign Policy

The Syrian Time Bomb

Patrick Seale

March 28, 2011 -- While one war rages in Libya, another rages in Washington as to the necessity of U.S. action there. Indeed, Defense Secretary Robert Gates said as much this weekend, noting that Libya was not a "vital national interest." But if Washington is looking for an Arab state in the throes of unrest, one that is key to its regional and national interests, planners might want to pay more attention to Syria, which is currently undergoing upheaval not seen since the early 1980s. Syria lies at the center of a dense network of Middle East relationships, and the crisis in that country -- which has now resulted in the deaths of well over 100 civilians, and possibly close to double that number -- is likely to have a major impact on the regional structure of power. The need to contain pressure from the United States and Israel, for decades the all-consuming concern of Syria's leadership, has suddenly been displaced by an explosion of popular protest highlighting urgent and long-neglected domestic issues.

If the regime fails to tame this domestic unrest, Syria's external influence will inevitably be enfeebled, with dramatic repercussions across the Middle East. As the crisis deepens, Syria's allies tremble. Meanwhile, its enemies rejoice, as a weakened Syria would remove an obstacle to their ambitions. But nature abhors a vacuum, and what will come will be unpredictable, at best.

The protests started in mid-March in Daraa, in southern Syria, a city that has suffered from drought and neglect by the government in Damascus. The heavy hand of the ruling Baath party was particularly resented. Because it lies on the border with Jordan, and therefore in a security zone, all land sales required the security services' approval, a slow and often costly business. This is one of the particular grievances that have powered the protest movement, though certainly the ripples of the successful Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings played a hand. The government, to put it bluntly, responded poorly. Troops in Daraa fired live rounds against youthful demonstrators and virtually all communications -- Internet and telephone -- were shuttered to prevent the seepage of unrest.

To make matters worse, Damascus blamed Israeli provocateurs, rebel forces, and shady foreign agents for the bloodshed -- anyone but its own forces. Civilian deaths at the hands of security forces there, and more recently in the coastal city of Latakia, have outraged opinion across the country, setting alight long pent-up anger at the denial of basic freedoms, the monopolistic rule of the Baath party, and the abuses of a privileged elite. To these ills should be added severe youth unemployment, devastation of the countryside by a grave shortage of rainfall over the past four years, and the impoverishment of the middle and lower classes by low wages and high inflation.

In response to the public unrest, the regime has released some political prisoners and pledged to end the state of emergency in force since 1963. A government spokeswoman has hinted that coming reforms will include greater freedom for the press and the right to form political parties. President Bashar al-Assad is due to address the country in the next 48 hours. His speech is eagerly awaited, but it remains to be seen whether it will be enough to defuse the crisis and win time for the regime. If not, demonstrations could gather pace, triggering still more violent repression by the security services -- an escalation with unpredictable consequences.

The protesters have in fact challenged the fundamentals of Syria's security state, a harsh system of controls over every aspect of society, put in place by the late Hafez al-Assad, Bashar's father, who ruled for 30 years from 1970 to his death in 2000. By all accounts, the debate about how to deal with the growing protests has led to increasingly violent confrontations inside the regime between would-be reformers and hard-liners. The outcome of this internal contest remains uncertain.

What is certain, however, is that what happens in Syria is of great concern to the whole region. Together with its two principal allies, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Lebanese Shiite resistance movement Hezbollah, Syria is viewed with great hostility by Israel and with wary suspicion by the United States. The Tehran-Damascus-Hezbollah axis -- of which Syria is the linchpin -- has long been seen by many leaders in the region as the lone bulwark against Israeli and American hegemony. With backing from Washington, Israel has sought to smash Hezbollah (notably through its 2006 invasion of Lebanon) and detach Syria from Iran, a country Israel views as its most dangerous regional rival. Neither objective has so far been realized. But now that Syria has been weakened by internal problems, the viability of the entire axis is in danger -- which could encourage dangerous risk-taking behavior by its allies as they seek to counter perceived gains by the United States and Israel.

If the Syrian regime were to be severely weakened by popular dissent, if only for a short while, Iran's influence in Arab affairs would almost certainly be reduced -- in both Lebanon and the Palestinian territories. In Lebanon, it would appear that Hezbollah has already been thrown on the defensive. Although it remains the most powerful single movement, both politically and on account of its armed militia, its local enemies sense a turning of the tide in their favor. This might explain a violent speech delivered earlier this month by the Sunni Muslim leader and former prime minister Saad Hariri, in which he blatantly played the sectarian card.

Cheered by his jubilant supporters, he charged that Hezbollah's weapons were not so much a threat to Israel as to Lebanon's own freedom, independence, and sovereignty -- at the hand of a foreign power, namely Iran. The Syrian uprisings may have already deepened the sectarian divide in Lebanon, raising once more the specter of civil war and making more difficult the task of forming a new government, a job President Michel Suleiman has entrusted to the Tripoli notable, Najib Mikati. If Syria were overrun with internal strife, Hezbollah would be deprived of a valuable ally -- no doubt to Israel's great satisfaction.

Meanwhile, Turkey is deeply concerned by the Syrian disturbances: Damascus has been the cornerstone of Ankara's ambitious Arab policy. Turkey-Syria relations have flourished in recent years as Turkey-Israel relations have grown cold. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, have actively sought to mediate local conflicts and bring much-needed stability to the region by forging close economic links. One of their bold projects is the creation of an economic bloc comprising Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan -- already something of a reality by the removal of visa requirements as well as by an injection of Turkish investment and technological know-how. A power struggle in Syria could set back this project; and regime change in Damascus would likely put a serious dent in further Turkish initiatives.

Turkey's loss, however, may turn out to be Egypt's gain. Freed from the stagnant rule of former President Hosni Mubarak, Cairo is now expected to play a more active role in Arab affairs. Instead of continuing Mubarak's policy, conducted in complicity with Israel, of punishing Gaza and isolating its Hamas government, Egypt is reported to be pushing for a reconciliation of the rival Palestinian factions, Hamas and Fatah. If successful, this could help defuse the current dangerous escalation of violence between Israel on the one side and Hamas and still more extreme Gaza-based Palestinian groups on the other. But Syria's internal troubles might just as easily have a negative effect.

Undoubtedly, the failed peace process has bred extreme frustration among Palestinian militants, some of whom may think that a sharp shock is needed to wrench international attention away from the Arab democratic wave and back to the Palestine problem. They are anxious to alert the United States and Europe to the danger of allowing the peace process to sink into a prolonged coma. Israeli hard-liners, too, may calculate that a short war could serve their purpose: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's far-right government may sense weakness and quietly dream of finishing off Hamas once and for all. Syria has been a strong supporter of Hamas and has given a base in Damascus to the head of its political bureau, Khaled Mashal. Turmoil in Damascus could deal Hamas a severe blow.

On all these fronts -- Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel -- Syria is a key player. But its internal problems now threaten to reshuffle the cards, adding to the general sense of insecurity and latent violence in the region. And of all the threats facing the Middle East, perhaps the greatest -- greater even than of another Arab-Israeli clash -- is that of rampant sectarianism, poisoning relationships between and within states, and breeding hate, intolerance, and mistrust.

Several of the modern states of the Middle East -- and Syria is no exception -- were built on a mosaic of ancient religions, sects, and ethnic groups held uneasily and sometimes uncomfortably together by central government. But governments have themselves been far from neutral, favoring one community over another in cynical power plays. Many Sunni Muslims in Syria and throughout the region feel that Assad's Syria has unduly favored the Alawites, a sect of Shiite Islam, who constitute some 12 percent of the population but control a vastly greater percentage of the country's wealth. Open conflict between Sunnis and Alawites in Syria would profoundly disturb the whole region, creating a nightmare scenario for Washington and other Western capitals.

Meanwhile, Washington seems at a loss as to how to respond to the growing unrest in Syria. In tempered language, the administration has condemned the use of violence against civilians and encouraged political reform. But the undertones are evident: Stability in Syria may still preferable to yet another experiment in Arab governance. Assad will need to act quickly and decisively -- and one hopes not harshly -- to quell the rising current of dissent. Indeed, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton seemed to offer the regime some modest support this weekend, noting that she believed Bashar to be a "reformer." But reform has never been a primary goal of the Assad clan, which has long favored stability over change.

This edifice may now be crumbling, and the United States would be wise to spend a little less time thinking about Libya and a little more time thinking about a state that truly has implications on U.S. national interests. If things go south in Syria, blood-thirsty sectarian demons risk being unleashed, and the entire region could be consumed in an orgy of violence.

Patrick Seale is a British writer who specializes in Middle East affairs. His latest book is The Struggle for Arab Independence: Riad el-Solh and the Makers of the Modern Middle East.

Article 2.

Politico

Obama failing as commander in chief

Robert D. Blackwill

March 28, 2011 -- The Obama administration deserves credit for its foreign policy achievements.

There has been no successful terrorist attack on U.S. soil. President Barack Obama and his colleagues have, thus far, skillfully handled the popular eruptions in Tunisia and Egypt — though those crises are far from over. They strengthened sanctions against Iran regarding its nuclear weapons program; reset U.S.-Russia relations and completed the New START Treaty. They have begun to deal effectively with the rise of Chinese power; continued, after a slow start, the transformation of U.S.-India relations, and signed a bilateral trade accord with South Korea. They also modernized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with summit agreements on a new strategic concept and ballistic missile defense.

But the administration's record of failure is equally as long. It has not seriously tackled our deficit and debt problem, the single greatest threat to long-term U.S. power and influence. It is now mishandling relations with the Gulf Arab monarchs and made a mess of the Middle East peace process. It has allowed the U.S.-Turkey relationship to reach historic lows, just as Turkey is becoming a formidable actor in the Greater Middle East.

By concentrating on health care for its first two years, the administration, and the large majorities in Congress, missed a crucial opportunity to pass climate change legislation. With the Democratic party's internal constituencies, there also has been almost no movement on international trade.

Right now, nobody has a successful formula for helping Pakistan — with its 100-plus nuclear weapons — arrest its systemic decline; or for coercing North Korea to slow its growing nuclear weapons and missile capabilities. So the administration gets the benefit of the doubt on those two perplexing problems.

Obama has, however, failed in the most important presidential power: to act as a wise commander in chief. He is seriously mismanaging all three wars the U.S. is now engaged in.

In Iraq, over the past decade, the United States has lost 4,500 American lives, has had 33,000 wounded and has spent a trillion dollars to promote vital U.S. national interests. But we are in danger of losing that enormous sacrifice in blood and treasure to meet the president's deadline of withdrawing all U.S. troops by the end of this year.

That is a huge strategic mistake. It could, over time, plunge that pivotal nation back into civil war. We should keep roughly 40,000 combat troops in Iraq for the foreseeable future, to make an indispensable contribution to Iraq's stability and prevent Iranian dominance. We should now be lobbying the Iraqi government hard to accept this.

In Afghanistan, Obama has dramatically escalated U.S. troop commitment — now more than 100,000 — in a war that Bob Woodward says in his book, "Obama's Wars," that the president does not believe in. U.S. policy toward Afghanistan involves spending $100 billion and suffering several hundred allied deaths annually — 500 Americans dead last year, thousands more injured. All this to deal with 100 or so Al Qaeda fighters now in Afghanistan; and prevent the Afghan Taliban from controlling the Pashtun Afghan homeland — which was not the reason we went there after Sept. 11. Our mission was to eradicate Al Qaeda — now largely accomplished — not fight the Taliban.

In policy terms, this has been enormous mission creep far beyond our national interests. The current U.S. counterinsurgency strategy appears likely to fail. Washington and its allies will not defeat the Taliban militarily. President Hamid Karzai's corrupt government is unlikely to improve significantly. The Afghan National Army cannot take over combat missions from the U.S. in southern and eastern Afghanistan in any realistic time frame. And the Pakistan army will not move against Afghan Taliban sanctuaries in Pakistan.

De facto Afghan partition offers the Obama administration the best alternative to strategic defeat. The administration should stop setting withdrawal deadlines and instead commit the United States to a long-term combat role in Afghanistan, with roughly 35,000 to 50,000 troops, for the next seven to 10 years.

Washington should also accept that the Taliban are likely to control most of the Pashtun south and east. The price of forestalling that is far too high for Americans to continue paying. Washington and its partners should let the local correlation of forces take its course in the Pashtun homeland — while deploying U.S. air power and Special Forces to ensure that the north and west of Afghanistan do not succumb to the Taliban.

In Libya, the president has gotten us militarily into the middle of a civil war in a country of little importance to the United States. And he offers no clear strategy to reach his ambitious objectives. The administration's inconsistent, even incoherent, statements on the Libya war wrestle each other for dominance in the daily news cycle, while NATO predictably founders without robust U.S. leadership.

The U.S. should quickly end its military role in the Libyan civil war. We should leave that to the European allies — if they want to take it up — and return to issues of far greater importance to our country, like our fiscal problems.

We can only speculate why Obama has such difficulty in effectively using the U.S. military as an instrument of national purpose.
Winston Churchill said, “In critical and baffling situations, it is always best to return to first principle and simple action.”
What is Obama’s first principle regarding the application of the use of force in the international arena? He seems to possess no abiding strategic framework about that preeminent presidential responsibility. He makes no clear connection between the use of force and vital U.S. national interests.
Thus, he recklessly withdraws from Iraq, imprudently escalates in Afghanistan and unwisely intervenes in Libya. One can only wonder and worry what he will do if and when he confronts the next crisis which could involve committing American men and women to combat.

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Article 3.

The Financial Times

Libya, a last hurrah for the west

Gideon Rachman

March 28 2011 -- The war in Libya is about a lot more than Muammer Gaddafi. Its outcome will reverberate around the Middle East and will affect international politics for decades. A vital principle is at stake.

The supporters of outside intervention believe that they are battling not just to stop atrocities in Libya itself, but to lay down a marker for the future. They want to show that the age when a dictator could massacre his own citizens is coming to a close. Bernard Henri-Lévy, a French philosopher who played an improbable role as a link between the Libyan rebels and President Nicolas Sarkozy, has said: “What is important in this affair is that the ‘duty to intervene’ has been recognised.”

Nicholas Kristof, writing in The New York Times, makes a similar point – “World powers have the right and obligation to intervene when a dictator devours his people.” This idea was approved by the UN in 2005 and, according to Mr Kristof, the Libyan intervention is “putting teeth into that fledgling concept.”

It would be nice to believe that the doctrine of a “responsibility to protect”, known colloquially as R2P, now has real bite. With rebel troops advancing swiftly along the Libyan coast, the supporters of the intervention will be feeling cheerful.

But the reality is that the Libyan war is more likely to mark a last hurrah for liberal interventionism than a new dawn. For the brutal truth is that the western powers that are the keenest promoters of the idea will not have the economic strength or the public backing to sustain many more overseas interventions. And the rising economic powers – China, India, Brazil and others – are deeply sceptical about the whole concept. Britain, France and the US all voted in favour of the UN resolution authorising force in Libya. But the fashionable grouping known as the Brics – Brazil, Russia, India and China – all abstained. None of them have much time for Colonel Gaddafi. But countries like China, India and Brazil see little to gain, and much to lose, by risking money, men and influence in foreign interventions. Their instinct is to mind their own business and to concentrate on the long-term goal of building up their own economic strength. A massacre in Libya might be unfortunate, no doubt – but Benghazi is a long way from Beijing or Brasília.

There are some complications. Germany abstained but, in doing so, placed itself outside the western mainstream. South Africa, which has been invited to the next Brics summit, voted for the Libyan resolution, but then criticised the bombing campaign vociferously.

So the broad picture holds. The established western powers still have a missionary zeal to put the world to rights. The rising powers are much more cautious and egocentric.

But the western allies are fighting against a background of shrinking resources. The British have just announced big defence cuts and the French are also battling to contain their budget deficit and maintain their welfare state.

The reluctance of the American military establishment to take on this new commitment has also been palpable. President Barack Obama and his generals know that the age when a US president could simply say that America would do “whatever it takes” is over. Admiral Mike Mullen, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, has said that the biggest threat to US national security is the budget deficit. In the post-Iraq, post-Afghanistan era, public support for military operations overseas is also limited.

Of course, if there is a swift and successful conclusion to the Libyan intervention – Col Gaddafi deposed, cheering crowds in Tripoli – then liberal interventionism will get a boost. But success could be just as much of a snare as failure. Each successful intervention will prompt demand for the next one – and there will be no shortage of possible candidates. Indeed that question is already being raised by the sight of the Syrian government shooting its own citizens. Yet, the more demands that are placed on the western powers, the more it will be evident that there is a growing mismatch between ambition and resources. That gap could, one day, be filled if the Brics and other rising powers change their attitudes to liberal interventionism. But there is very little sign of that happening. The Chinese government, with memories of Tiananmen Square in 1989, is deeply wary of the idea that foreigners have the right to intervene to prevent human rights abuses in a sovereign nation. The same goes for the Russians, with their record in Chechnya. India, Brazil and South Africa are democratic countries with no need for a contingency plan to shoot their own citizens. But their colonial histories incline them to take a sceptical view of the motives of western powers that seek to use military power around the world. They are also all emerging powers that are not yet used to thinking globally. By contrast, Britain and France have maintained the instinct to think globally, without the resources to back it up. Even the US, by far the world's pre-eminent military power, is signalling strongly that it is losing the will to be the world's policeman. In the Victorian age, the British once sang – "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do/ We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too." The Libyan intervention feels like a last reprise of that old tune, rather than a bold statement for a new age.

Article 4.

NYT

President Obama on Libya

Editorial

March 28, 2011 -- President Obama made the right, albeit belated, decision to join with allies and try to stop Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi from slaughtering thousands of Libyans. But he has been far too slow to explain that decision, or his long-term strategy, to Congress and the American people. On Monday night, the president spoke to the nation and made a strong case for why America needed to intervene in this fight — and why that did not always mean it should intervene in others. Mr. Obama said that the United States had a moral responsibility to stop "violence on a horrific scale," as well as a unique international mandate and a broad coalition to act with. He said that failure to intervene could also have threatened the peaceful transitions in Egypt and Tunisia, as thousands of Libyan refugees poured across their borders, while other dictators would conclude that "violence is the best strategy to cling to power." Mr. Obama could report encouraging early progress on the military and diplomatic fronts. Washington and its allies have crippled or destroyed Colonel Qaddafi's anti-aircraft defenses, peeled his troops back from the city of Benghazi — saving potentially thousands of lives — and allowed rebel forces to retake the offensive. Just as encouragingly, this military effort that was galvanized internationally — the United Nations Security Council authorized "all necessary measures" to protect civilians in Libya — will soon be run internationally. Last weekend, the United States handed over responsibility for enforcing the no-flight zone to NATO. And the alliance is now preparing to take command of the entire mission, with the support of (still too few) Arab nations. To his credit, Mr. Obama did not sugarcoat the difficulties ahead. While he suggested that his goal, ultimately, is to see Colonel Qaddafi gone, he also said that the air war was unlikely to accomplish that by itself. Most important, he vowed that there would be no American ground troops in this fight. “If we tried to overthrow Qaddafi by force,” he said, “our coalition would splinter.” He said “regime change” in Iraq took eight years and cost thousands of American and Iraqi lives. “That is not something we can afford to repeat in Libya.” Instead, he said the United States and its allies would work to increase the diplomatic and military pressure on Colonel Qaddafi and his cronies. A meeting on Tuesday with allies and members of the Libyan opposition is supposed to develop that strategy along with ways to help the rebels build alternate, and we hope humane and competent, governing structures. That needs to start quickly. To hold their ground and protect endangered civilians, let alone advance, the rebels will likely need air support for quite some time. Mr. Obama was right not to promise a swift end to the air campaign. At the same time, he should not overestimate the patience of the American people or the weariness of the overstretched military. And as Washington reduces its military role, others, inside and outside NATO, will need to increase theirs. Within NATO, unenthusiastic partners like Germany and Turkey need to at least stay out of the way even if they continue to stand aside from the fighting. The president made the right choice to act, but this is a war of choice, not necessity. Presidents should not commit the military to battle without consulting Congress and explaining their reasons to the American people. Fortunately, initial coalition military operations have gone well. Unfortunately, it is the nature of war that they will not always go well. Mr. Obama needs to work with Congress and keep the public fully informed. On Monday, he made an overdue start on that.

Article 5.

The Daily Star

Egypt's new Constitution: an update

Nathan Brown

March 29, 2011 -- The March 19 vote in favor of constitutional amendments in Egypt provides a boost to the military-led transition process and its vigorous electoral schedule.

The voter turnout was impressive by Egyptian standards – 41 percent of eligible voters, at least double the turnout in any previous national election or referendum – and the victory was overwhelming at 77 percent of voters. But opponents attracted enough votes to make the outcome seem less like the predictable landslides of the authoritarian order. Those who objected to the content of the amendments and, more forcefully, to the process by which they were written and the political sequence they implied marshaled forceful arguments, campaigned hard, and then lost.

As a consequence, Egypt's transition process will likely rush forward. What are the next steps? The basic sequence of events is clear, but the ruling Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) has not revealed many of the details. Nor has it shared decision-making power over the sequence and rules in any serious way.

The amended articles – most of them governing presidential and parliamentary elections – are now clearly in effect. But the rest of Egypt's Constitution remains suspended. Egypt's military rulers have suggested that they will very shortly issue a declaration indicating how authority will be exercised while Egypt's Parliament and president are elected, which parts of the 1971 Constitution will be brought back into effect, and what their own role will be.

The committee that drafted the amendments also prepared amendments to various laws in order to bring them into conformance with the new provisions. However, announcement of the changes was postponed until after the referendum. The SCAF is expected to issue those laws, which will likely be designed to make elections freer and fairer, by decree. The SCAF has suggested that it will change the law on political parties, making it much easier for new parties to register. The Muslim Brotherhood is one of the many groups that would likely take advantage of such a change. The SCAF might also move from the current electoral system of individual parliamentary districts to a proportional representation system in which at least some of the seats would be allocated by a party's share of the national vote instead of giving all of them to the winning candidates in each district. But if the SCAF is planning on such a move, it has not tipped its hand.

The SCAF has also suggested that parliamentary elections will be held before presidential elections. Last week, one of its members argued forcefully that attempts to reverse the sequence and have the president elected first (as some have suggested would be preferable because parliamentary elections will be much more complicated than presidential elections) might simply deliver another dictator. But the generals have also suggested that they may push parliamentary elections back from May or June (when they originally suggested they might be held) until September. This is likely a response to those who claim that Egypt's party system is simply not sufficiently organized for elections in two or three months.

The SCAF initially suggested that it might hold the presidential election in the late summer or early fall; if parliamentary elections are postponed until September, then the presidential election might be pushed back until the end of the year.

Under new nomination procedures contained in the constitutional amendments, a party that gains at least a single seat in the upcoming parliamentary elections will be able to nominate a candidate. (If the Muslim Brotherhood is able to form a party and does gain seats, it has said it will not run its own candidate this time but it might still throw its weight behind one of the candidates who is running.) Independent candidates can get on the ballot either by getting a certain number of endorsements by parliamentary deputies or gathering signatures (30,000) from eligible voters.

Already some candidates have announced they will run. Most prominent include the following: Amr Moussa, the former foreign minister and current secretary-general of the Arab League. While popular for his Arab nationalist stances, he will have to overcome his association with the past regime, which has already emerged as a major issue in his campaign.

There is also Mohamed ElBaradei, the former director of the International Atomic Energy Agency and Nobel Prize winner. While respected for his clear articulation of liberal political stances and courage in openly criticizing the Mubarak regime, he will have to overcome a reputation for having an aloof and overly cerebral style. In addition, many Egyptians complain that he has spent (and continues to spend) too much time outside the country to be an appropriate candidate.

Another candidate is Hisham al-Bastawisi, the leader of a group of judges who confronted the Mubarak regime over the last decade. Al-Bastawisi is, like ElBaradei, widely respected but does not appear to be a natural politician.

There is also Ayman Nour, founder of Al-Ghad Party. Nour came in a distant second to former President Hosni Mubarak in 2005 and spent the subsequent four years in prison on politically motivated charges. Known as a born politician and an effective campaigner, and admired for his uncompromising opposition to Mubarak, Nour nonetheless enjoys less of a national reputation than Moussa and ElBaradei.

And there is Hamdeen Sabahi, the founder of the Karama Party, a breakaway from the Nasserist Party that has long sought official licensing. Sabahi, like Nour, has been a key organizer within the opposition and is a gifted politician, but enjoys less widespread popularity than other candidates.

After the new Parliament and president are elected, the provisional Constitution allows (and, according to a reading endorsed by a SCAF member, actually requires) a constituent assembly to be selected to draft an entirely new Constitution. While the opponents to the amendments wished to have this done as the first rather than the last step, they will ultimately get their wish for an entirely new document.

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Article 6.

NYT

Arabs Will Be Free

Roger Cohen

March 28, 2011 -- Three Middle Eastern countries have been conspicuous for their stability in the storm. They are Turkey, Lebanon and Israel. An odd mix, you might say, but they have in common that they are places where people vote.

Democracy is a messy all-or-nothing business. That's why I love it. You can no more be a little bit democratic than a little bit pregnant. Yes, citizens go to the polls in Turkey, Lebanon and Israel and no dictator gets 99.3 percent of the vote. They are lands of opportunity where money is being made and where facile generalizations, for all their popularity, miss the point. Turkey has not turned Islamist, Lebanon is not in the hands of Hezbollah, and Israel is still an open society.

All three countries, of course, are also wracked by division and imperfection; but then two great merits of democracy are that it finesses division and does not aspire to perfection.

Speaking of Hezbollah, remember all that alarm a couple of months back when a Hezbollah-backed businessman, Najib Mikati, emerged as prime minister? After that, Lebanon introduced the Libyan no-fly-zone resolution at the United Nations — a rare, if little noted, example of the United States and a Hezbollah-supported government in sync.

Talk to Hezbollah: That's obvious. It's no terrorizing monolith. Mikati is struggling with the give-and-take of Lebanese politics. Life goes on in the freewheeling way that has long drawn repressed, frustrated Arabs to Beirut.

Hezbollah is a political party with a militia. That's a big problem. Israel's ultra-Orthodox Shas party has an outsized influence over Israel because of coalition politics. That's a problem. The Muslim Brotherhood will loom large in a free Egypt because it has an organizational head start. That may be a problem. Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party is a brilliant political machine with a ruthless bent. That's a problem, too.

These are problems of different sizes. But give me all these problems so long as they present themselves within open (or opening) systems. They are far preferable to the cowed conformity common to the terrorized societies of the now doomed Arab Jurassic Park, where despots do their worst.

It's over: Enough of the nameless graves that whisper of horror, enough of the 20th-century police states in the 21st-century. Yes, it's over for Ben Ali and for Mubarak. It's over for Qaddafi, yes it is. How far it's over for the other Arab despots and autocrats, whether of the oxymoronic "republics" or the royals, will depend on how far they can get out in front of their citizens' demand to be heard.

You see, you can't do Hama any more. You can't do the Iraqi marshes. Perhaps you can kill dozens, but not tens of thousands. These despots relied on the limitlessness of their terror. It had to be as absolute as their contempt for the law.

But now people know. They communicate through the clampdowns. They are Facebook-nimble. The despots gaze into their gilded mirrors and, to their horror, see not themselves but the people who will be silenced no longer. They wonder then if their own myriad agents can be trusted. They are caught in their own web. They flail; they have gone too far to turn back but cannot go forward.

Bashar al-Assad, the embattled Syrian president, was about to say something Sunday, before deciding not to. He was trained in west London as an eye doctor. He'd better stop thinking Hama — where his father murdered at least 10,000 — and start thinking Hammersmith.

Questions swirl. Who are the Libyan rebels? Who are the angry of Latakia? The Arab transitions will be long and bumpy — like those that brought representative government to Latin America and Central Europe and wide swathes of Asia — but now that fear has been overcome, they are irreversible.

Here's who the protesters are: people like Asmaa Mahfouz, 26, the Egyptian woman who on Jan. 18 made a video urging citizens to go to Tahrir Square on Jan. 25 — the demonstration that would start the revolution. She said then: "We'll go down and demand our rights, our fundamental human rights. I won't even talk about any political rights. We just want our human rights and nothing else." And she said people "don't have to come to Tahrir Square, just go down anywhere and say it, that we are free human beings." And: "This is enough!"

People are being born throughout the Middle East. They are discovering their capacity to change things, their inner "Basta!" That's how the Arab spring began on Dec. 17 in the little town of Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia — with a fruit peddler's "enough" to humiliation. In my end is my beginning.

Three months later the genie is not only out of the bottle, it's shattered the bottle. I said of Libya in an earlier column: Be ruthless or stay out. So now the West is in, be ruthless. Arm the resurgent rebels. Incapacitate Qaddafi. Do everything short of putting troops on the ground. Qaddafi, as President Obama has said, "must leave." So that Libya can be an Arab country that is imperfect but open.

Article 7.

The Daily Star

The West still beats the rest, but it may no longer be best

Robert Skidelsky

March 29, 2011 -- History has no final verdicts. Major shifts in events and power bring about new subjects for discussion and new interpretations.

Fifty years ago, as decolonization accelerated, no one had a good word to say for imperialism. It was regarded as unambiguously bad, both by ex-imperialists and by their liberated subjects. Schoolchildren were taught about the horrors of colonialism, how it exploited conquered peoples. There was little mention, if any, of imperialism’s benefits.

Then, in the 1980s, a revisionist history came along. It wasn’t just that distance lends a certain enchantment to any view. The West – mainly the Anglo-American part of it – had recovered some of its pride and nerve under U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. And there was the growing evidence of post-colonial regimes’ failure, violence and corruption, especially in Africa.

But the decisive event for the revisionists was the collapse of the Soviet empire, which not only left the United States top dog globally, but also seemed, to the more philosophically minded, to vindicate Western civilization and values against all other civilizations and values. With the European Union extending its frontiers to embrace many ex-communist states, the West became again, if briefly, the embodiment of universal reason, obliged and equipped to spread its values to the still-benighted parts of the world. Francis Fukuyama’s

“The End of History and the Last Man” testified to this sense of triumph and historical duty.

Such a conjuncture set the stage for a new wave of imperialism (though the reluctance to use the word remained). In doing so, it was bound to affect interpretations of the old imperialism, which was now extolled for spreading economic progress, the rule of law, and science and technology to countries that would never have benefited from them otherwise.

Foremost among the new generation of revisionist historians was Niall Ferguson of Harvard University, whose television series, based on his new book “Civilization: The West and the Rest,” has just started showing in Britain. In its first episode, Ferguson appears amid the splendid monuments of China’s Ming Dynasty, which, in the 15th century, was undoubtedly the greatest civilization of the day, with its naval expeditions reaching the coasts of Africa. After that, it was all downhill for China (and “the rest”) and all uphill for the West.

Ferguson snazzily summarizes the reasons for this reversal in six “killer apps:” competition, science, property rights, medicine, the consumer society and the work ethic. Against such tools – unique products of Western civilization – the rest had no chance. From such a perspective, imperialism, old and new, has been a beneficent influence, because it has been the means of spreading these “apps” to the rest of the world, thereby enabling them to enjoy the fruits of progress hitherto confined to a few Western countries.

Understandably, this thesis has not met with universal approbation. The historian Alex von Tunzelmann accused Ferguson of leaving out all of imperialism’s nasty bits: the Black War in Australia, the German genocide in Namibia, the Belgian exterminations in the Congo, the Amritsar Massacre, the Bengal Famine, the Irish potato famine, and much else.

But that is the weakest line of attack. Edward Gibbon once described history as being little better than a record of the "crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind." Imperialism certainly added its quota to these. But the question is whether it also provided, through Hegel's "cunning of reason," the means to escape from them. Even Marx justified British rule in India on these grounds. Ferguson, too, can make a sound argument for such a proposition.

The most serious weakness in Ferguson's presentation is his lack of sympathy for the civilizations dismissed as "the rest," which also points to the most serious limitation of the revisionist case. The "triumph of the West" that followed the collapse of communism in Europe was clearly not the "end of history." As Ferguson must know, the main topic of discussion in international affairs nowadays concerns the "rise" of China, and more generally Asia, as well as the stirring of Islam.

Of course, the Chinese may prefer to talk about "restoration" rather than "rise," and point to a "harmonious" pluralism of the future. But "rise" is how most people think of China's recent history, and in history the rise of some is usually associated with the decline of others. In other words, we may be reverting to that cyclical pattern that historians assumed to be axiomatic before the seemingly irreversible rise of the West implanted in them a view of linear progress toward greater reason and freedom.

Europe is plainly in decline, politically and culturally, though most Europeans, blinded by their high living standards and the pretensions of their impotent statesmen, are happy to dress this up as progress. Chinese savings are underwriting much of the American civilizing mission that Ferguson applauds. The pattern seems clear: the West is losing dynamism, and the rest are gaining it.

The remainder of this century will show how this shift plays out. For the moment, most of us have lost the historical plot. It is possible, for example, to imagine a “Western world” (one that applies Ferguson’s “killer apps”) in which the actual West is no longer the dominant factor: America will simply pass the torch to China, as Britain once did to America.

But it seems to me extremely unlikely that China, India and “the rest” will simply take over Western values wholesale, for this would amount to renouncing any value in their own civilizations. Some syntheses and accommodations between the West and the rest will inevitably accompany the shift in power and wealth from the former to the latter. The only question is whether the process will be peaceful.

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Article 8.

Wall Street Journal

Norway to Jews: You're Not Welcome Here

Alan M. Dershowitz

MARCH 29, 2011 -- I recently completed a tour of Norwegian universities, where I spoke about international law as applied to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But the tour nearly never happened.

Its sponsor, a Norwegian pro-Israel group, offered to have me lecture without any charge to the three major universities. Norwegian universities generally jump at any opportunity to invite lecturers from elsewhere. When my Harvard colleague Stephen Walt, co-author of "The Israel Lobby," came to Norway, he was immediately invited to present a lecture at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim. Likewise with Ilan Pappe, a demonizer of Israel who teaches at Oxford.

My hosts expected, therefore, that their offer to have me present a different academic perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be eagerly accepted. I have written half a dozen books on the subject presenting a centrist view in support of the two-state solution. But the universities refused.

The dean of the law faculty at Bergen University said he would be "honored" to have me present a lecture "on the O.J. Simpson case," as long as I was willing to promise not to mention Israel. An administrator at the Trondheim school said that Israel was too "controversial."

The University of Oslo simply said "no" without offering an excuse. That led one journalist to wonder whether the Norwegian universities believe that I am "not entirely house-trained."

Only once before have I been prevented from lecturing at universities in a country. The other country was Apartheid South Africa.

Despite the faculties' refusals to invite me, I delivered three lectures to packed auditoriums at the invitation of student groups. I received sustained applause both before and after the talks.

It was then that I realized why all this happened. At all of the Norwegian universities, there have been efforts to enact academic and cultural boycotts of Jewish Israeli academics. This boycott is directed against Israel's "occupation" of Palestinian land—but the occupation that the boycott supporters have in mind is not of the West Bank but rather of Israel itself. Here is the first line of their petition: "Since 1948 the state of Israel has occupied Palestinian land . . ."

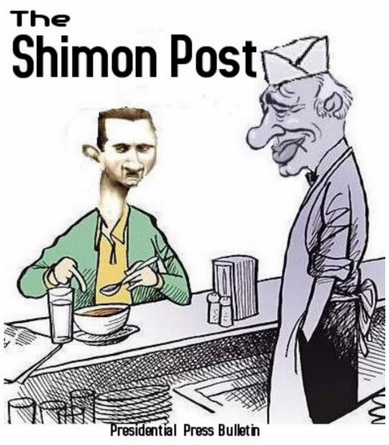
The administrations of the universities have refused to go along with this form of collective punishment of all Israeli academics, so the formal demand for a boycott failed. But in practice it exists. Jewish pro-Israel speakers are subject to a de facto boycott.

The first boycott signatory was Trond Adresen, a professor at Trondheim. About Jews, he has written: "There is something immensely self-satisfied and self-centered at the tribal mentality that is so prevalent among Jews. . . . [They] as a whole, are characterized by this mentality. . . . It is no less legitimate to say such a thing about Jews in 2008-2009 than it was to make the same point about the Germans around 1938."

This line of talk—directed at Jews, not Israel—is apparently acceptable among many in Norway's elite. Consider former Prime Minister Kare Willock's reaction to President Obama's selection of Rahm Emanuel as his first chief of staff: "It does not look too promising, he has chosen a chief of staff who is Jewish." Mr. Willock didn't know anything about Mr. Emanuel's views—he based his criticism on the sole fact that Mr. Emanuel is a Jew. Perhaps unsurprisingly, fewer than 1,000 Jews live in Norway today.

The country's foreign minister recently wrote an article justifying his contacts with Hamas. He said that the essential philosophy of Norway is "dialogue." That dialogue, it turns out, is one-sided. Hamas and its supporters are invited into the dialogue, but supporters of Israel are excluded by an implicit, yet very real, boycott against pro-Israel views.

Mr. Dershowitz is a law professor at Harvard. His latest novel is "The Trials of Zion" (Grand Central Publishing, 2010).



13 May, 2011

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Article 1.

NYT

The Tony Awards

Roger Cohen

May 12, 2011— Every few years along comes a brilliant Jewish writer called Tony with challenging views on Israel, and this great city — on all other matters the most open in the world — gets tied in knots over what can or cannot be said. After "L'Affaire Judt" we have "L'Affaire Kushner," but with different outcomes that suggest a shifting American Jewish discourse.

The late Tony Judt, author of the brilliant study of late 20th-century Europe called "Postwar," saw his New York persona changed with the appearance in 2003 in The New York Review of Books of an article called "Israel: The Alternative." It posited the creation of a single binational state of Jews and Palestinians and suggested a Jewish state was anachronistic.

The calls to his office began — "Tell Tony Judt this is Hitler calling and he says, 'Congratulations.'" Years later, an event featuring Judt at the Polish Consulate got canceled at the last minute after its organizers apparently came under pressure from prominent New York Jewish groups.

To this day, in the city this British-born Jew came to love for its clamorous diversity, Judt's luminous oeuvre sometimes seems overshadowed by a single polemical piece.

I disagreed with Judt: No alternative binational state of Palestinians and Jews is imaginable in the Holy Land, at least not this side of utopia. History demonstrates that Jews need a homeland called Israel. Amos Oz, the Israeli author, has noted that, "When my father was a young man in Vilna, every wall in Europe said, 'Jews go home to Palestine.' Fifty years later when he went back to Europe on a visit, the walls all screamed, ‘Jews get out of Palestine.’” A Jewish refuge is just and necessary.

But the imperative, inescapable accompaniment to Israel is Palestine. A two-state solution is the only strategic and moral answer to the wars since 1948 that have left countless Palestinians bereft of home and dignity, living under an Israeli dominion as corrosive of its masters as it is punishing to its victims.

Judt, who later suggested the binational idea was utopian, penned a provocation. Its spark was that the current impasse is untenable: Israel cannot be at once Jewish and democratic if it permanently disenfranchises millions of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank. While I disagreed with his proposed resolution, I agree that the occupation is untenable and I found the hounding of Judt, who died last year of Lou Gehrig’s disease, an appalling instance of the methods of the relentless Israel-right-or-wrong bullies.

Enter the second Tony of this saga, Tony Kushner, the Pulitzer-prize winning author of “Angels in America.” His honorary degree from the City University of New York gets blocked on May 2 after a trustee called Jeffrey Wiesenfeld — like Judt from a family of Holocaust survivors — suggests Kushner is an “extremist” opponent of Israel.

Wiesenfeld, by the way, is not sure Palestinians are human given that they “worship death for their children.”

For anyone familiar with the Judt saga, Kushner’s travails have a familiar ring. He’s interested in historical facts, which include Palestinians being driven from their homes in 1948; he’s appalled by the ongoing Israeli settlement policy and is a board member of an organization that has supported boycotting West Bank settlements (although Kushner told me he’s against a boycott); he’s mused about one state.

That's heresy enough for Wiesenfeld. This time, however, the counter-wave was powerful. J Street, an organization not around in 2003 that supports Israel but opposes the settlements, issued a statement calling CUNY's action "unacceptable." Former mayor Ed Koch, of impeccable pro-Israel credentials, weighed in. Within days CUNY reversed itself and approved Kushner's degree.

Now Wiesenfeld is under pressure to resign. He should: No university is well served by a trustee who values taboo over debate and doubts an entire people's humanity.

Kushner told me he believes "there is a very significant change underway." Americans are realizing there is "a terrible need for a dose of debate" on Israel and that "silent acquiescence" to those "whose politics are based substantially on fantasy and theological wishes" is dangerous.

Criticism of Israel is not betrayal of Israel. The Kushner affair, like the Judt affair before it, is important in that Israel's political compass is guided to some degree by its sense of the American mood. That mood, beginning in the White House, is of growing impatience.

Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister, will address Congress this month. He has responded to tumultuous events in the Middle East with vapid tactical sound bites. The speech to Congress is his chance to lay out a strategy for two states. I doubt he'll ever locate his inner statesman — in which case the world's irritation and futile Palestinian unilateralism will harden.

Yitzhak Rabin did not stand on the White House lawn with Yasser Arafat for a photo-op. The Israeli warrior understood the necessity of a two-state peace. To get there at last, "It's essential that we become more sophisticated and braver in what we're willing to say and think," Kushner said.

Amen to that — and Tony Judt, great man, requiescat in pace.

Article 2.

Project Syndicate

Democracy's Dawn in Tunisia and Egypt?

Alfred Stepan

2011-05-12 -- CAIRO – With protests fading in Tunis and seeming to have peaked in Cairo, it is time to ask whether Tunisia and Egypt will complete democratic transitions. I have been visiting both countries, where many democratic activists have been comparing their situation with the more than 20 successful and failed democratic-transition attempts throughout the world that I have observed and analyzed.

One fear should be dismissed immediately: despite worries about the incompatibility of Islam and democracy, more than 500 million Muslims now live in Muslim-majority countries that are commonly classified as democracies – Indonesia, Turkey, Bangladesh, Senegal, Mali, and Albania. But, for almost 40 years, not a single Arab-majority country has been classified as a democracy, so a democratic transition in either Tunisia or Egypt (or elsewhere in the region) would be of immense importance for the entire Arab world.

Tunisia's chances of becoming a democracy before the year ends are, I believe, surprisingly good. A key factor here is that the military is not complicating the transition to democracy. Tunisia has a small military (only about 36,000 soldiers), and, since independence in 1956, it had been led by two party-based non-democratic leaders who strove to keep the military out of politics.

Moreover, the current civilian-led interim government engages in at least some negotiations about the new democratic rules of the game with virtually all of the major political actors who generated the revolution and who will contest the elections.

Tunisia’s interim government has announced that elections to a Constituent Assembly will be held on July 24, 2011, and, crucially, that as soon as the votes are counted, it will step down. As in the classic democratic transitions in Spain and India, the newly elected Constituent Assembly will immediately have the responsibility of forming the government.

The Constituent Assembly will be free to choose a presidential, semi-presidential, or parliamentary system. A consensus is emerging among political leaders to choose the same system as the ten post-communist countries that have been admitted to the European Union: parliamentarianism.

Finally, Rachid al-Ghannouchi, who leads the largest Islamic-inspired political party, Al Nahda, went out of his way to tell me that he has signed an agreement with some secular parties that he will not try to change Tunisia’s women-friendly family code, the most liberal in the Arab world. While many party leaders do not fully trust Ghannouchi, they believe that in the new democratic environment, the political costs to Al Nahda would be too great for it to risk trying to impose Islamic rule. They also increasingly believe that the most democratically effective policy toward Al Nahda for secular parties is accommodation, not exclusion.

Democratization in Egypt in the long term is probable, but it does not share the more favorable conditions found in Tunisia. One of the biggest differences between the two countries is that every Egyptian president since 1952 has been a military officer. Eighteen generals lead the Post-Mubarak interim government, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). They unilaterally issue statements about what they see as the rules of the game for future elections. Key civil-society and political actors repeatedly told me that they had little access to, and almost no politically serious negotiations with, the SCAF.

The clashes in Tahrir Square on April 9-10, which led to the deaths of two protesters, were the most serious to date between activists and the Army. The distance between the Army and young democratic activists grew further on April 11, when a military court sentenced the first blogger since the fall of Mubarak to prison for criticizing the military.

In the SCAF's March 30 "Constitutional Declaration," it became absolutely clear that, unlike Tunisia, the parliament to be elected in September will not form a government. Articles 56 and 61 stipulate that the SCAF will retain a broad range of executive powers until a president is elected. Instead of Parliament acting as the sovereign body that will write a constitution, Article 60 mandates that it is to "elect a 100-member constituent assembly." The big question now is how many non-elected outside experts will end up in this "constituent assembly" and how they will arrive there.

Of course, many still fear that Islamic fundamentalists will hijack Egypt's revolution. But I see that as an improbable outcome, given the growing diversification of Muslim identities in the new context of political freedoms, secular parties' efforts to keep the Muslim Brotherhood within electoral politics, and the profiles of the three leading presidential candidates, none of whom want the Egyptian Revolution to be captured.

In short, a successful democratic transition is possible in Tunisia, and not impossible in Egypt. That fact, alone, should bolster the hopes of Arab democratic activists elsewhere as well.

Alfred Stepan is Professor of Government at Columbia University and the author, with Juan J. Linz and Yogendra Yadav, of the recently published Crafting State Nations.

Article 3.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

A Decade of Struggling Reform Efforts in Jordan: The Resilience of the Rentier System

Summary + Conclusion

(The full text: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/jordan_reform.pdf)

Marwan Muasher

May 2011 – On February 1, 2011, after weeks of protests that preceded the uprisings in both Tunisia and Egypt, King Abdullah II dismissed the unpopular government of Samir Rifai and entrusted Marouf Al Bakhit, an ex-army general and former prime minister, with forming a new government. Bakhit's major task would be "to take speedy practical and tangible steps to unleash a real political reform process that reflects [Jordan's] vision of comprehensive reform, modernization and development." While the references to political reform abounded in this newest letter, they were far from new.

Since acceding to the throne in 1999, the king has entrusted almost every appointed government with some aspect of political reform. What was novel about this particular letter was his candid admission that "the process has been marred by gaps and imbalances" and that these were the result of "fear of change by some who resisted it to protect their own interests . . . costing the country dearly and denying it many opportunities for achievement."

In several speeches and press interviews over the last few years, the king has hinted at his frustration with those who did not wish to embrace change. The words in this letter, however, marked the clearest attack yet on those who resisted reform. The accusation was explicit: the motives behind resistance to change from such groups, which had in fact been created and sustained by the system over many decades, stemmed from their desire to protect their own private interests—even at the expense of the state.

Could reform efforts have taken a different course in Jordan? In a country where the king has broad powers over all branches of government, his expressed frustration over the struggling reform efforts begs the question of why the status quo remains intact. This decade-long process, initiated by the king, has been largely ignored by an ossified layer of elites seeking to protect their own interests. The clear discrepancy between the king's directives to the seven prime ministers he had entrusted to form governments in his twelve years of power—and the actual record of reform completed by these respective governments—points to a structural problem that is all too often ignored.

Much research has been done on the creation of rentier and semi-rentier systems in the Arab world, whereby the state relies on rents from such nonproductive sources as oil or external assistance. Such rents, however, are also specifically utilized to provide privileges to the political elite in exchange for its loyalty. These groups, developed by many Arab systems over decades, support the existing order because it occupies a privileged position that would be compromised by merit-based systems, rather than ones based on clientelism and patronage.

In the case of Jordan, this group has become so entrenched, powerful, and ossified that it is now not only resisting such reform from below but—more dangerously—from above. In other words, these elites have become recalcitrant, self-appointed guardians of the state who believe they alone should decide how the country ought to evolve. They have no qualms about opposing the directives of the leaders or systems that created them in the first place if those leaders are seen as adopting policies that threaten their interests.

An examination of the political reforms conducted by successive governments in Jordan over the last decade suggests that, in most cases, the king's directives were ignored, diluted, and, at times, directly opposed. This does not imply that the objectives of this class and the monarch were always in contradiction, but suggests that the rentier system has, over time and through entrenchment, created monsters who will only acquiesce as long as the system perpetuates the old policy of favors.

These groups are therefore more likely to pursue policies that are antithetical to political reform, thus resulting in the gaps and imbalances lamented by the king's latest letter. These rentier systems have already proven to be difficult to maintain and, in an Arab world that is increasingly demanding better governance and greater accountability, such ossified systems will come to pose significant threats to stability, particularly in resource-poor countries such as Jordan

Conclusion

After a decade of political reform efforts in Jordan, it does not appear that the process has made any significant advances. In fact, as is clear from some of the key indicators above, the process seems not only to have stalled, but regressed as well. Reversals in civil liberties and political rights caused Jordan to lose significant international standing. In the annual Freedom House rankings, Jordan declined from a rank of 4 in 2001 (partly free) on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 being most free) to a rank of 6 (not free) in 2010. Corruption has also become a major issue in the country in the last few years. From 2003 to 2007, the Jordanian Center for Strategic Studies asked citizens in its annual poll to rate their priorities for the country. Over the four year period, they consistently ranked corruption among their top priorities; it came in a close second to poverty and unemployment.

Jordan also fell in the rankings of the highly respected Transparency International Corruptions Perceptions Index from 37 (1 being the least corrupt in about 180 countries studied) in 2003 to 50 in 2010. It is clear that Jordan's political establishment has no interest in implementing the king's explicit orders to move ahead on political reform and, in most cases, took measures that set the process back. The uprisings that Jordan is A Decade of Struggling Reform Efforts in Jordan: The Resilience of the Rentier System witnessing today are not all instigated by groups that are seeking reform in the traditional liberal sense. Some are led by groups that support the rentier-system model-the source of many of their livelihoods-and are concerned that the state may move away from such a system. The king's own policies on political reform-often aimed at striking a balance between the traditional elements and the reformers-have not borne fruit, and almost always resulted in appeasing traditional elements at the expense of reform. Reform needs reformers who are cognizant of the need for an orderly, gradual process but are also committed to a serious roadmap that would lead to true power-sharing through strong legislative and judicial bodies. The selection of several prime ministers did not lead to serious progress on reform, precisely because they were neither true believers in its value, nor did they have a critical mass of reformers inside their governments able to counterbalance the traditional elements who wanted to preserve the status quo at all costs. Thus, instead of holistically addressing all needed areas of reform, reform programs were instead reduced to ad-hoc initiatives that did not add up to any serious and structural changes in governance systems. The king's practice of handing a prime minister a plan for reform that the latter does not believe in and expecting him to deliver on it regardless has simply failed. The National Agenda, an example of such a holistic and gradual program to move toward a more inclusive and democratic system, was never implemented; now, current demands have gone beyond it. The king himself has expressed frustration many times over this, both in domestic speeches and in international appearances. When Fareed Zakaria asked him about the future of reform in Jordan in a World Economic Forum debate aired on CNN on February 7, 2010, the king volunteered the following answer regarding the reform process over the last ten years: "Sometimes you take two steps forward, one step back. There is resistance to change. There is a resistance to ideas. When we try to push the envelope, there are certain sectors of society that say this is a Zionist plot to sort of destabilize our country, or this is an American agenda. So, it's very difficult to convince people to move forward." The king faces a formidable task any time a reform process is initiated, as he must confront, address, or co-opt the traditional constituency of the regime. Finding a way of doing this-whether through attempting to arrive at a consensus among the different societal forces, changing the make-up of his coalition, substituting certain benefits to the traditional constituency with others, or convincing the political elite that the status quo is unsustainable-will determine to a large degree whether a serious reform process will ever gain traction. The various attempts to put economic liberalization in the country ahead of political reform did not succeed either. While it is easy to argue that citizens want bread before freedom, economic liberalization took place without the development of a system of checks and balances and resulted in the benefits of economic reform being usurped by an elite few. To the average citizen, neither bread nor freedom was attained. As a result, the public has come to view liberalization and globalization negatively. Economic reform must be accompanied by political reform, such that institutional mechanisms of accountability are developed to monitor excesses and ensure benefits are made available to all. Finally, no reform process can be effective without sustained implementation. Frequent changes in governments, plans, and priorities have all contributed to the failure of the reform process in Jordan over the past decade. In view of the recent uprisings in the Arab world, the political elite must recognize that the only way they can retain power is by sharing it, and governments will have to acknowledge that substituting serious implementation with reform rhetoric fools no one. Given that Jordan enjoys a rather distinctive position-its monarchy enjoys widespread legitimacy and plays a role in stability that is acknowledged by all sectors of society, including the opposition-the king is in a unique position to lead a serious reform process. The choice in Jordan seems to be similar to that of other countries around it: either lead a reform process from above in a gradual, orderly, and serious way, or watch it take place in the streets below with uncontrolled consequences.

Marwan Muasher is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment, where he oversees the Endowment's research in Washington and Beirut on the Middle East. Muasher served as foreign minister (2002–2004) and deputy prime minister (2004–2005) of Jordan, and his career has spanned the areas of diplomacy, development, civil society, and communications. He is also a senior fellow at Yale University.

Article 4.

Foreign Policy

Syria: Too Big to Fail?

Aaron David Miller

MAY 12, 2011 -- If you're a bit confused about U.S. President Barack Obama's passivity in the face of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's brutal repression of domestic opposition, don't be. Syria isn't Libya. The Assad regime is just too consequential to risk undermining.

Although the fall of the House of Assad might actually benefit U.S. interests, the president isn't going to encourage it. For realists in the White House, Assad's demise carries more risks than opportunities. Great powers behave inconsistently -- even hypocritically -- depending on their interests. That's not unusual; it's part of the job description. In fact, in responding to the forces of change and repression loosed throughout the Arab world, flexibility is more important than ideological rigidity.

The last thing America needs is a doctrine or ideological template to govern how it responds to fast-breaking changes in a dozen Arab countries, all of which are strikingly different in their respective circumstances.

That the administration's response often seemed like a giant game of whack-a-mole, with a new problem popping up daily, was inevitable. And so was the variety of U.S. responses. In Bahrain, where the United States had established the headquarters of the U.S. Navy's 5th Fleet, and in Yemen, where counterterrorism is king, interests trumped values. You didn't hear Obama make any "Qaddafi must go"-style speeches directed against Bahrain's ruling Khalifa family or Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh.

The contradictions and anomalies of U.S. foreign policy have also been on stark display in the Obama administration's differing responses to Qaddafi's and Assad's repression of their own people. Beating up Qaddafi proved doable and necessary to prevent what was viewed as potential atrocities by his forces in Benghazi. Libya had few significant air defense systems and no friends; it was relatively easy to construct a coalition of the (semi-)willing in the United Nations, NATO and the Arab League to oppose the man President Ronald Reagan once dubbed the "mad dog of the Middle East" -- a tin pot and often bizarre dictator who opposed reform and political change. If you wanted to construct a more vulnerable target in a laboratory, you couldn't have done much better.

Syria presents a profoundly different situation. U.S. policy has always been driven by the hope that the Assads would change and the fear of what might replace them if they fell. Three additional realities ensured a U.S. response quite different from the one for Libya.

First, Syria was hard. It's a country with a sophisticated air defense system, chemical and biological weapons, and a great many friends -- including Iran and Hezbollah, which are capable of striking back. Marshaling support at the United Nations, mobilizing NATO, and getting buy-in from the Arab League in the way that made the Libya intervention possible are not in the cards. Some of America's closest friends, including Israel and Saudi Arabia, are also not at all sure that Syria without Assad would be better than with him.

Second, for most U.S. presidents -- Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush being the exceptions -- Syria has served as a kind of unholy diplomatic grail. Since Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, U.S. policymakers had viewed the Assads as pragmatists capable of facilitating or blocking U.S. policy in Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli peace process.

If only the Syrians could be brought around, presidents have believed for generations, life would be so much easier. The United States wasn't alone in this illusion -- the Israelis, Arabs, Europeans, and Russians felt the same way. Like the Wall Street banks, Syria was then, as it is now, judged as simply too big to fail. There was something perversely comforting about having the Assads around.

I had my own fair share of illusions during my government career, but the Assads were never one of them. I could never quite understand my colleagues' fascination with the brutal Syrian regime. To me, Bashar al-Assad was a brutal dictator who wanted to be the Frank Sinatra of the Middle East -- obsessed with doing things his own way to the point that he priced himself out of peace with Israel and a relationship with the United States. It's striking that every other Arab state, with the possible exception of Libya, managed to establish a close relationship with the United States. Not Assad.

Third, Obama's approach toward Syria has been managed by the realists. This stands in contrast with his Libya policy, where liberal interventionists in the administration and neocons outside clamored for action. This group of realists includes the president, who knows his options on Syria aren't great. He's being told that American leverage isn't great and that if he calls for Assad's head and the Syrian despot survives, he'll have lost access to a key player in the region. And after all, what could he do that would deter a regime in a fight for its life? Pull U.S. Ambassador Robert Ford from Damascus? Impose a travel ban on Assad and his family? Press the Europeans to freeze Assad's money?

In a world of symbols, these steps may make an important point about American values. However, none of them will make a difference in how events play out in Syria.

Simply put, the Obama administration is worried about creating a worse situation if Assad falls. Take your pick of scary scenarios:

civil war, a Sunni fundamentalist takeover, or a new base for al Qaeda.

Of course, there would also be an upside to Assad's demise. A brutal regime would have fallen; Iran would be denied an Arab patron and a critical window into Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli arena; Hamas would likely drift further into the orbit of Egypt and Saudi Arabia; and Hezbollah -- though hardly defanged in Lebanon -- would lose a critical patron. At this point, however, the administration clearly judges that the risks of U.S. action outweigh the potential benefits. Bad options, bad outcomes. So, for now, we watch and wait to see where the arc on the Assads is headed -- north or south. But if the Assads do survive, it wouldn't surprise me in the least if Washington at some point resumes a business-as-usual posture with the only surviving repressive Arab dictator that's too big to fail.

Aaron David Miller is a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. His book, Can America Have Another Great President?, will be published in 2012.

Article 5.

The Daily Star

Syria fortifies Obama in his indecision

Michael Young

12 May -- The New York Times gave readers a double-whammy of Syrian statements on Tuesday. Its correspondent in Beirut, Anthony Shadid, landed interviews with presidential adviser Bouthaina Shaaban and with Rami Makhlouf, the powerful maternal cousin of President Bashar Assad, who represents the financial front of the regime.

Shadid was allowed into Syria for only a few hours to conduct the interviews. You have to wonder whether this provoked much debate in the newspaper's offices. The condition transformed the correspondent into a stenographer, and the New York Times into a platform, for the dual messages emanating from Damascus. This irked quite a few people. However, it's also fair to say that Shadid has kept the Syria story on the front pages of his daily, at a moment when the attention in the United States has been drifting elsewhere.

What did Shaaban and Makhlouf say? The essence of Shaaban's remarks was that the Syrian regime had gained the upper hand against the uprising. "I think now we've passed the most dangerous moment. I hope so, I think so," she said. Shaaban repeated the government line that Syria faced an armed rebellion, and disclosed that she had been tasked with initiating a dialogue with dissidents. "We see [the Syrian events] as an opportunity to try to move forward on many levels, especially the political level," she added.

Makhlouf's comments sounded more ominous. "If there is no stability [in Syria], there's no way there will be stability in Israel," he warned. "No way, and nobody can guarantee what will happen after, God forbid, anything happens to this regime." He observed that the regime had opted to fight, insisting that all its members were united: "We will sit here. We call it a fight until the end." He also issued a transparent threat: "They should know when we suffer, we will not suffer alone."

Some have suggested that the two messages reveal a split in the Syrian regime. That's not convincing. The messages were not that different, and to put Shaaban on the same level as Makhlouf is absurd. Shaaban is viewed as a spokesman for the president, but she plays no central role in the Assad-Makhlouf constellation. She doubtless needed a green light to go ahead with the interview, one that required some measure of approval by Makhlouf and Assad's younger brother Maher, both of whom have taken an eradication approach to the protests. Makhlouf, in turn, needed no authorization whatsoever.

What Shaaban said was likely intended to be interpreted in the United States as a marginally soft statement by Bashar Assad. In contrast, Makhlouf offered the harsher alternative if the president's approach was rejected by the international community. It was a classic good cop, bad cop routine, and those familiar with Syrian manners will be little surprised by the ploy. That's why it seems far-fetched to assume that we are witnessing a fundamental rift in Syria's ruling family.

The reason for this is that there is no serious alternative to what the Assads and the Makhloufs are doing today. They can either stand together behind repression, or fall apart. That's hardly to justify the regime's butchery of hundreds of unarmed civilians. Rather, it's to affirm that the Syrian leadership is incapable of undertaking anything different. There simply is no reform option, and there never was.

Genuine reform means dislodging the bricks holding up Assad-Makhlouf authority. Bashar Assad's open-ended presidency, the crony capitalism practiced by his cousin and other members of Syria's elite, the abuse practiced by the all-powerful security services, even Alawite predominance, would never survive a system shaped by free elections, the rule of law, and the existence of independent media.

The New York Times interviews were made possible by the deep uneasiness in the Obama administration with moves that might destabilize the Assad regime. The Syrians are good judges of their adversaries' weaknesses, and what they see in Washington is a president who prefers the Assads to the possibility of chaos. They realize that the measures taken until now by the United States and Europe have been relatively gentle, therefore wholly ineffective. Add to that the U.N. Security Council's recent failure to condemn Syria and official Arab support for Syrian stability, and you will grasp why the Assad regime saw an opening to reinforce American paralysis.

Nor can the Obama administration ignore that the Syrian leadership regards American dithering as a sign of implicit approval of its actions. Indeed, Shaaban described the recent statements of President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on Syria as "not too bad," and the sanctions against Syria as manageable. That can only mean one thing: If Washington fails to clarify its views on the carnage in Syria through effective policies, the killing and the arrests there will continue, with the U.S. bearing partial responsibility. The White House's uncertainty can be measured in human lives.

The Syrian protesters are right in not pursuing their salvation in Washington, let alone Brussels, Paris, or London. This is not an American administration overly outraged by the viciousness of dictatorships. Even in Egypt, Obama only turned against Hosni Mubarak when he was left with no other choice – although doing so against an old ally while sparing Assad suggests that Obama is like the coward who will yell at his wife to avoid a brawl with the neighbor.

What all this could also mean, however, is that the Syrian regime is wrong in pursuing its salvation in foreign capitals. Ultimately, Assad, his legitimacy in tatters, will have to win out against his own people. That will not be easy, not when the president has had to order the military occupation of several of his major cities. The regime's behavior is a daily insult to Syrians, one they will not readily forget.

Michael Young is opinion editor of THE DAILY STAR and author of "The Ghosts of Martyrs Square: An Eyewitness Account of Lebanon's Life Struggle" (Simon & Schuster), listed as one of the 10 notable books of 2010 by the Wall Street Journal.

Article 6.

New York Review of Books

Storm Over Syria

Malise Ruthven

The Other Side of the Mirror: An American Travels Through Syria
by Brooke Allen

Paul Dry, 259 pp., $16.95 (paper)

June 9, 2011 -- "Damascus has seen all that has ever occurred on earth, and still she lives," wrote Mark Twain after visiting Syria's capital in the 1860s. "She has looked upon the dry bones of a thousand empires, and will see the tombs of a thousand more before she dies."

The turmoil in Syria, where hundreds of unarmed protesters have been mown down by the forces of President Bashar al-Assad, who comes from the country's Alawi minority, is much more menacing than the generally peaceful revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, from which the Syrian protesters drew their initial inspiration. The regime of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia capitulated in the face of spontaneous demonstrations sparked by the self-immolation of a twenty-six-year-old man who had been reduced to scratching out a living as a humble street vendor. Ben Ali, along with his hated wife and family, chose to go into exile before a single shot had been fired. In Egypt, if press reports are to be believed, the generals unseated President Hosni Mubarak after tank commanders refused his orders to fire on civilians. The Egyptian revolution, which has seen some resistance from the military and police, has now taken a constitutional turn, with the country approving a series of amendments that could lead to the emergence of a parliamentary democracy. Much will depend on the willingness of the military to allow an open political process to take place.

The Syrian government's response to the Arab world's turbulent spring, by contrast, has been both violent and vacillating. Its initial response was to characterize the protests across the country as the result of a global conspiracy fomented by a clutch of unlikely allies, including the US, Israel, and Arab enemies in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, working with former regime officials and homegrown Salafists, or fundamentalists. Then President Assad tried to defuse the opposition by receiving protest delegations and announcing the lifting of long-standing emergency laws, apparently acknowledging the existence of legitimate grievances. But this proved no more than a gesture. In effect the government's response has been contradictory to the point of incoherence: as the Brussels-based International Crisis Group points out in a report released on May 3:

The regime has lifted the emergency law but has since allowed the security services to conduct business as usual, thereby illustrating just how meaningless the concept of legality was in the first place. It authorises demonstrations even as it claims they no longer are justified and then labels them as treasonous. It speaks of reforming the media and, in the same breath, dismisses those who stray from the official line. It insists on ignoring the most outrageous symbols of corruption. Finally, and although it has engaged in numerous bilateral talks with local representatives, it resists convening a national dialogue, which might represent the last, slim chance for a peaceful way forward.

Over seven hundred people have been killed so far, more than a hundred of them in the southwestern city of Deraa, near the Jordanian border, where the Omari mosque—a center of resistance—has been closed to worshipers after being shelled by tanks and taken over by snipers. Some ten thousand people are now said to have been detained by elite security forces backed by the army. According to Amnesty International, detainees have been beaten with sticks and cables, and sometimes deprived of food. Unlike in Libya there are no NATO forces to protect Syria's cities or parts of the country from the murderous attacks inflicted by a regime that is now losing the last threads of international legitimacy. Assad has a more effective army than Qaddafi and powerful friends in Iran, Lebanon, and Iraq.

In contrast to Libya, military action in defense of Syria's beleaguered population would barely attract a shred of international support. While the Arab League voted unanimously for the no-fly zone to protect the people of Benghazi, in the case of Syria it has not even mentioned the country by name, merely declaring that pro-democracy protesters "deserve support, not bullets."

As The New York Times pointed out in an editorial, the UN Security Council "hasn't even been able to muster a press statement. Russia and China, as ever, are determined to protect autocrats." Israel has been watching and waiting with alarm as the outcome of the unrest in Syria becomes more and more uncertain. Despite his alliance with Iran and refusal to recognize the Jewish state, Assad is the devil it knows best. Prolonged instability or a Salafist regime could only make matters worse.

On the ground it is far from clear what is happening, since foreign reporters have been banned from entering the country, Internet service has been shut down, and cell-phone coverage limited to satellites or systems outside government control. Nevertheless the protests—spurred by funerals of victims and gatherings at Friday prayers, the only occasions on which large numbers of people are permitted to assemble—have spread from Deraa to at least a dozen other cities including Baniyas and Latakia on the Mediterranean coast, as well as to the northern city of Homs and some suburbs of Damascus.* With the Alawi-dominated regime under threat, the struggle is showing ominous sectarian overtones. At Baniyas, where the army moved scores of tanks and armored vehicles into the city's southern outskirts, paramilitary groups were said to have massed in Alawi-populated northern suburbs. The city centers of Damascus and Aleppo, however, remained relatively quiet, as the government appeared to be organizing rallies of its own supporters, with activists claiming that efforts were being made to bus pro-government demonstrators from Alawi-dominated regions. Grainy cell-phone images sent in clandestinely from Homs to the al-Jazeera TV network showed a speech by a senior defector from the ruling Baath party being greeted with shouts of Allahu Akbar (God Is Greater), often regarded as the jihadist war cry.

At first sight the defection of more than three hundred members of the ruling Baath party in protest at the crackdown would suggest that Syria's one-party state, in place since 1963, is beginning to unravel. What some people are calling the Facebook Revolution, an unprecedented wave of visible public protest, is led by a generation of media-savvy young people, more aware of the outside world than their parents were, who are demanding an end to the system of repression, corruption, and privilege that has been the hallmark of the authoritarian Arab regimes lying between the Atlas Mountains and the Persian Gulf.

Yet unlike the Muslim Brotherhood's rebellion in Hama, which shook the government of Bashar al-Assad's father Hafez in 1982, the Facebook rebellion seems curiously faceless. There are some signs of opposition violence with "plausible reports of security forces being ambushed by unidentified armed groups, as well as of protesters firing back when attacked," according to the International Crisis Group. But these appear to be small and random incidents. The vast majority of casualties are the consequence of the regime's brutality. The protests are largely spontaneous. There seem to be no controlling organizations or identifiable leaders, and the opposition's ideological focus is unclear, beyond slogans calling for an end to corruption and repression.

Optimists see this as an implicit acceptance of democratic values and assumptions. Despite the increasingly desperate efforts of the region's authoritarian governments to keep their people in the dark about the realities of the outside world by restricting information, the younger generation identifies with its peers in the liberal West and it knows what it is missing in access to material and educational benefits as well as civil and democratic rights. The problem is that while the Facebook generation knows what it doesn't like, it is far from clear that there are structures in place, or being planned, that could provide the basis for an alternative political system if the regime collapses. Pessimists envisage a scenario encapsulated in the phrase "one man, one vote, one time" leading to a Salafist takeover and a settling of scores against minorities (including Christians) who were protected by the regime or benefited from its pluralist approach. More than 70 percent of the Syrian population are Sunni.

How did Syria come to this pass? While some observers see in recent events a parallel with 1989, with the break-up of the East European–style system introduced by the Baathists in the 1960s, this is no velvet revolution, nor is Syria like Jaruzelski's Poland. The regime's violence is not ideological. It is far from being the result of an emotional or philosophical commitment to a party that long ago abandoned its agenda of promoting secular Arab republican values and aspirations. The regime's ruthless attachment to power lies in a complex web of tribal loyalties and networks of patronage underpinned by a uniquely powerful religious bond.

The Alawis of Syria, who make up only 12 percent of its population, split from the main branch of Shiism more than a thousand years ago. Before the twentieth century they were usually referred to as

Nusayris, after their eponymous founder Ibn Nusayr, who lived in Iraq during the ninth century. Taking refuge in the mountains above the port of Latakia, on the coastal strip between modern Lebanon and Turkey, they evolved a highly secretive syncretistic theology containing an amalgam of Neoplatonic, Gnostic, Christian, Muslim, and Zoroastrian elements. Their leading theologian, Abdullah al-Khasibi, who died in 957, proclaimed the divinity of Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, whom other Shiites revere but do not worship. Like many Shiites influenced by ancient Gnostic teachings that predate Islam, they believe that the way to salvation and knowledge lies through a succession of divine emanations. Acknowledging a line of prophets or avatars beginning with Adam and culminating in Christ and Muhammad, they include several figures from classical antiquity in their list, such as Socrates, Plato, Galen, and some of the pre-Islamic Persian masters.

Nusayrism could be described as a folk religion that absorbed many of the spiritual and intellectual currents of late antiquity and early Islam, packaged into a body of teachings that placed its followers beyond the boundaries of orthodoxy. Mainstream Muslims, both Sunni and Shia, regarded them as ghulta, "exaggerators." Like other sectarian groups they protected their tradition by a strategy known as taqiyya—the right to hide one's true beliefs from outsiders in order to avoid persecution. Taqiyya makes a perfect qualification for membership in the mukhabarat—the ubiquitous intelligence/security apparatus that has dominated Syria's government for more than four decades.

Secrecy was also observed by means of a complex system of initiation, in which insiders recognized each other by using special phrases or passwords and neophytes underwent a form of spiritual marriage with the naqibs, or spiritual guides. At this ceremony three superior dignitaries represent a kind of holy trinity of the figures who feature in other Nusayri rituals, namely Ali, Muhammad, and Salman al-Farisi (the Persian companion of Muhammad who in several Islamic traditions forms a link between the Arabs and the wisdom of ancient Persia). Nusayri rituals, performed in private homes or out-of-the-way places, include a ceremony known as Qurban—almost identical to the mass—where wine is consecrated and imbibed in the Christian manner. As Matti Moosa, a leading scholar of the Nusayris, states in his seminal study Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects (1988):

The Christian elements in the Nusayri religion are unmistakable. They include the concept of trinity; the celebration of Christmas, the consecration of the Qurban, that is, the sacrament of the flesh and blood which Christ offered to His disciples, and, most important, the celebration of the Quddas [a lengthy prayer proclaiming the divine attributes of Ali and the personification of all the biblical patriarchs from Adam to Simon Peter, founder of the Church, who is seen, paradoxically, as the embodiment of true Islam].

Moosa suggests that like other schismatic groups residing in Syria, such as the Druzes and Ismailis, the Nusayris do not take their beliefs literally, but understand them as allegorical ways of reaching out to the divine. While this may be true of the educated naqibs, or spiritual elders, such belief systems may have different ramifications for semiliterate peasants, reinforcing a contempt or disdain for outsiders who do not share these beliefs. Like the Druzes and some Ismailis, Nusayris believe in metempsychosis or transmigration. The souls of the wicked pass into unclean animals such as dogs and pigs, while the souls of the righteous enter human bodies more perfect than their present ones. The howls of jackals that can be heard at night are the souls of Sunni Muslims calling their misguided co-religionists to prayer.

It does not take much imagination to see how such beliefs, programmed into the community's values for more than a millennium, and reinforced by customs such as endogamous marriage—according to which the children of unions between Nusayris and non-Nusayris cannot be initiated into the sect—create very strong notions of apartness and disdain for the "Other."

The great Arab philosopher of history Ibn Khaldun, who died in 1406, elaborated the concept of 'asabiyya—variously translated as clannism or group solidarity—that provides a more adequate explanation of the political systems operating in many Arab countries than notions based on imported ideologies such as communism, nationalism, and socialism. Ibn Khaldun's analysis was based on his native North Africa, but it can be adapted to the conditions of the Mashreq, or Levant—where similar historical conditions prevailed. As Albert Hourani explained in his magisterial History of the Arab Peoples (1991), 'asabiyya is a force that informs the patriarchal family order that still underpins the structure of power in many Arab societies.

In the past, as Hourani pointed out, a ruler with 'asabiyya was well placed to found a dynasty, since the merchant classes of the cities, untrained in the military arts and without powerful corporate structures, tended to lack this quality. Moreover, when dynastic rule achieved in this way was stable and prosperous, city life flourished. But in Ibn Khaldun's time every dynasty bore within itself the seeds of decline, as rulers degenerated into tyrants or became corrupted by luxurious living. In due course power would pass to a new group of hardy rulers from the margins after a period of turbulence often described as fitna, or disorder (a term with overtones of sexual disharmony, for in the family context, fitna is seen as the outcome of sexual misconduct).

The rise and possible fall of the Assad dynasty would provide a perfect illustration of the Khaldunian paradigm under recent postcolonial conditions. Under Ottoman rule the Nusayris were impoverished outsiders struggling on the social margins. In addition to feuding among themselves, they were fierce rivals of the Ismailis, whom they expelled from their highland refuges and castles, forcing them to settle in the more arid lands east of Homs. The Ottoman governors regarded them as nonbelievers and tools of the Shiite Persians: they were not even accorded the dignity of a millet, or recognized religious community.

When the French took over Greater Syria after World War I (including modern Lebanon and parts of modern Turkey), they flirted briefly with the idea of creating a highland Alawi state of 300,000 people separate from the cities of the plains—Homs, Hama, Damascus, and Aleppo—with their dominant Sunni majorities. The French rightly believed that the Sunni majority would be most resistant to their rule. Like other minorities the Alawis, as they preferred to be called, saw the French as protectors. In 1936, six Alawi notables sent a memorandum to Leon Blum, head of France's Popular Front government, expressing their loyalty to France and their concern at negotiations leading to independence in a parliamentary system dominated by the Sunni majority. The memorandum includes the following points:

- The Alawi people, who have preserved their independence year after year with great zeal and sacrifices, are different from the Sunni Muslims. They were never subject to the authority of the cities of the interior.
- The Alawis refuse to be annexed to Muslim Syria because in Syria the official religion of the state is Islam, and according to Islam the Alawis are considered infidels.

- The granting of independence to Syria…constitutes a good example of the socialist principles in Syria…. [But] as to the presence of a parliament and a constitutional government, that does not represent individual freedom. This parliamentary rule is no more than false appearances without any value. In truth, it covers up a regime dominated by religious fanaticism against the minorities. Do French leaders want the Muslims to have control over the Alawi people in order to throw them into misery?
- We can sense today how the Muslim citizens of Damascus force the Jews who live among them to sign a document pledging that they will not send provisions to their ill-fated brethren in Palestine. The condition of the Jews in Palestine is the strongest and most explicit evidence of the militancy of the Islamic issue vis-à-vis those who do not belong to Islam. These good Jews contributed to the Arabs with civilization and peace, scattered gold, and established prosperity in Palestine without harming anyone or taking anything by force, yet the Muslims declare holy war against them and never hesitated in slaughtering their women and children, despite the presence of England in Palestine and France in Syria. Therefore a dark fate awaits the Jews and other minorities in case the Mandate is abolished and Muslim Syria is united with Muslim Palestine…the ultimate goal of the Muslim Arabs.

One of the signatories to this document was Sulayman al-Assad, a minor chief of the Kalbiya clan and father of Hafez al-Assad.

The ‘asabiyya of the Alawis was carefully exploited by the French, who polished the Khaldunian model by giving them military training as members of the Troupes Spéciales du Levant. In the turbulent years that followed full independence in 1946, their military know-how proved valuable. Bright members of the sect such as Hafez al-Assad, whose families could not afford to send them to university, joined the armed forces and were drawn to secular parties, such as the

Baath (renaissance) party jointly founded by two intellectuals, Michel Aflaq and Salah al-Din Bitar, with an agenda explicitly aimed at overcoming sectarian divisions.

It would be wrong to suppose that the Alawis deliberately sought to subvert or take over the Baath or the armed forces. Their primary impulse was their own security. After independence the Syrian parliament abolished the separate representation for minorities instituted by the French, along with certain judicial rights. Nusayri sheikhs and notables encouraged young men to join the Baath because they believed its secular outlook would protect them from Sunni hegemony and persecution. Other minorities, including Christians, Druzes, and Ismailis, tended to join the Baath (or in some cases the Communist Party and Syrian Socialist National Party) for similar reasons. The eventual dominance achieved by the Alawis may be attributed to their highland military background and the default logic by which ‘asabiyya tends to assert itself in the absence of other, more durable structures.

The first three military coups that followed Syrian independence were engineered by Sunni officers. This was followed by the disastrous union with Nasser’s Egypt in 1958 when Baath party leaders, following their pan-Arabist nationalist logic, merged their country’s identity into that of their more powerful Sunni neighbor. After Syria formally united with Egypt, Nusayri officers who had joined the Baath party became increasingly alarmed that Arab nationalism, for all its secular rhetoric, was really a veil concealing Arab Sunni supremacy. They formed a clandestine military committee led by Salah Jadid, an Alawi, which took power in a military coup in 1963. Hafez al-Assad, trained as a fighter pilot, became air force commander. Some seven hundred officers were purged, and most of their positions were filled with Nusayris. A further coup against the Baathist old guard brought Assad into the cabinet as defense minister in 1966, a position he cleverly exploited after Syria's defeat by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967, after which it was alleged that the regime had had secret dealings with the Jewish state. A "palace coup" inside the leadership brought Assad to power as president in 1970. Thereafter the power of the state was firmly concentrated in Alawi hands. Of the officers commanding the 47th Syrian Tank Brigade, which was responsible for suppressing the Muslim Brotherhood's rebellion in the city of Hama in 1982 at a cost of some 20,000 lives, 70 percent are reported to have been Alawis. When Hafez al-Assad died in June 2000, the constitutional niceties were rapidly dispensed with to ensure the succession of his son Bashar, who had studied ophthalmology in England. Fearful that Hafez's exiled younger brother Rifaat al-Assad, who had commanded the Hama operation, would try to take over, a hastily convened session of the People's Assembly voted to lower the minimum age for a president from forty to thirty-four, the exact age of Bashar al-Assad.

In the welter of violence now accompanying the regime's determined efforts to suppress the demonstrations, its achievements should not be forgotten or ignored. While its massacre in Hama was horrendous and it has an abysmal record on human rights, engaging in torture and severe political repression, it had a good, even excellent one when it came to protecting the pluralism of the religious culture that is one of Syria's most enduring and attractive qualities. Some of these virtues are captured in Brooke Allen's engaging account of her travels in Syria, The Other Side of the Mirror, where she meets ordinary people from different backgrounds and rejoices in the natural friendliness of Syria's people and the extraordinary richness of its past. Instead of the Soviet-style grayness she expected to find from accounts in the US media, she discovers a sophisticated cosmopolitan society where life is being lived in many different styles and varieties, "totally unselfconsciously, just as it has been for thousands of years."

In Aleppo, a jewel among cities, with its commanding citadel and labyrinthine, covered souk, she sees fully veiled ladies, exotic bedouin women displaying bright spots of color, and wealthy Gulf Arabs wearing white robes rubbing shoulders with men riding donkeys and mixing with "trophy girlfriends" in miniskirts teetering perilously on the ultra-high-heeled shoes that Aleppans evidently consider to be the height of fashion.

Having been in Aleppo recently, I can vouch for the accuracy of her descriptions. Visiting several mosques, churches, and shrines, she provides impressive testimony of the country's religious diversity and the regime's commitment to religious freedom. It would be tragic if the pursuit of democracy led to the shredding of this bright human canopy, where religious and cultural differences seem to have flourished under the iron grip of a minority sectarian regime.

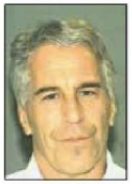
—Rome, May 11, 2011

Malise Ruthven is the author of Islam: A Very Short Introduction, Islam in the World: The Divine Supermarket (a study of Christian fundamentalism), A Fury for God: The Islamist Attack on America, and A Satanic Affair: Salman Rushdie and the Wrath of Islam.

Where are the Epstein records?

By **JULIE K. BROWN**
Miami Herald

Three months have passed since a judicial panel in New York heard arguments to unseal documents that could reveal whether federal prosecutors covered up evidence that New York financier Jeffrey Epstein and others were running an underage sex trafficking operation.



Jeffrey Epstein

In March, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit seemed poised to release some documents in the case. The records involve Epstein's one-time partner, Ghislaine Maxwell, who has been accused of helping him recruit and sexually exploit girls and young women in various locations around the United States and abroad in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

The appeals panel gave all parties in the case until March 29 to file additional pleadings. Several challenges were subsequently filed, but the court has yet to make a final ruling.

The Miami Herald — one of the intervenors in the case — has submitted a letter to the court urging the judges to follow through on the case in the wake of a controversial Justice Department decision last week. In a 35-page motion, filed June 24, federal prosecutors in Georgia declared that they would not set aside Epstein's federal non-prosecution agreement.

The Georgia decision dealt another blow to Epstein's victims who have been fighting for a decade to have the deal thrown out and to pressure the Justice Department to prosecute the 66-year-old multimillionaire on sex trafficking charges. It also means that the Justice Department has no intention of allowing Epstein's victims and the public to examine the facts of Epstein's case and reach their own conclusions, the Herald argues in the letter.

In February, a federal judge in Florida, Kenneth A. Marra, ruled in the victims' favor, saying that the government violated the Crime Victims' Right Act when it failed to inform Epstein's victims that prosecutors had secretly disposed of the case.

Marra ordered the government and attorneys for the victims to come up with remedies to address the federal violation.

U.S. Attorney Byung Pak responded last week, saying that Epstein's victims are free to express their displeasure about what prosecutors did, but they have no right under the law to demand anything from the government — not even an apology.

Sanford L. Bohrer, the Miami Herald's attorney, said that Pak's decision highlights the pressing need for the New York appeals court to expedite unsealing the documents in Maxwell's case.

That case is a 2015 defamation lawsuit filed against Maxwell, the daughter of the late British media mogul Robert Maxwell. Maxwell, now 57 and an environmentalist, has been accused of assisting Epstein in the trafficking of underage girls and young women to powerful and wealthy politicians, lawyers, scientists and businessmen.

She has denied the allegations and has never been charged with any crimes.

The Herald's lawyer contends that the Justice Department's decision last week shows that the government continues to evade public accountability and, therefore, it's more urgent than ever that the Maxwell case be made public.

"[Pak's] submission makes clear that access to the documents that [the Herald and other parties] seek in [the Maxwell] matter remains an issue of critical public concern," Bohrer wrote in a letter to Catherine O'Hagan Wolfe, clerk of the court for the appeals panel. He said the government "essentially argues that Epstein's victims are not entitled to any meaningful redress, including partial rescission, declaratory relief and specific injunctive relief requested."

In 2008, the FBI had identified nearly three dozen underage victims who were allegedly lured to Epstein's mansion in Palm Beach under the pretext that he would pay them for massages. The girls, mostly 13 to 16 years old, were groomed by Epstein and others who worked for him to engage in sex acts with him and others, the evidence showed.

In November, the Miami Herald published an investigation that examined how then-Miami U.S. Attorney Alexander Acosta negotiated a secret non-prosecution agreement that resulted in Epstein receiving an extraordinarily light sentence.

Acosta, who is now President Donald Trump's labor secretary, ensured that the agreement was sealed so that no one — not even the victims — would know the scope of Epstein's crimes or who was involved. Epstein's lawyers worked together with prosecutors to limit public scrutiny of the case, and arranged for Epstein to quietly plead guilty to lesser charges in state court, the Herald series revealed.

The handling of the case is now under investigation by the Department of Justice.

As part of the Herald's series, the newspaper went to court in 2018 to unseal the Maxwell case, which was settled in 2017. A contingent of other media companies, a conservative social media blogger and Epstein's lawyer, Alan Dershowitz, are also seeking to have the Maxwell case made public.

The defamation case was filed against Maxwell by Virginia Roberts Giuffre, who claims she was recruited by Maxwell when she was 16 and working as a spa attendant at Mar-a-Lago, Trump's lavish country club in Palm Beach. In court papers, she claimed that Epstein and Maxwell directed her to have sex with public figures. In a sworn affidavit, she has named Prince Andrew and Dershowitz as among those she had sex with when she was underage. Both the prince and the famed lawyer have denied her claims.

Dershowitz wants the Maxwell case made public because he says that the documents will exonerate him. Also party to the appeal is social media blogger Michael Cernovich.

Based on the court filings, the case is believed to contain a range of evidence, including testimony from other possible underage victims who were trafficked. All parties in the case, including the Herald, have agreed to redact the names of minors and other details that would identify victims.

Maxwell is the sole party fighting to keep the entire record sealed. Two other currently unidentified people, labeling themselves as John Does, have filed legal briefs in an attempt to conceal personal information that could connect them to the alleged underage sex trafficking operation.

Epstein, who was not party to the Maxwell suit, has denied that he ran a sex trafficking operation, and his attorneys say that the number of victims involved has been "vastly exaggerated" by the media.

In addition to Florida and N.Y., Epstein lives on Little St. James Island off St. Thomas.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/17/2009 5:54:29 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump Soho

I spoke to henri and bob,, henri tried hard to bullshit me, telling me he had talked to the studios and felt comfortable he could raise over 100 million in guaranteed distribution, I checked , and of course , it turned out to be smoke. I like bob, and would have hope your friend would have more respect for. him. I will look in to trump.

On Wed, Dec 16, 2009 at 10:54 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:

> Just heard from an insider that they will probably go into foreclosure ...the deal is done and dead....building is complete ready to open in Feb
> Only 30%/ 35% sold...hardly any can actually close.
> Not sure if this is interesting....can have you talk to the developer (Sapir)
> Hope all is well....

--
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constitute inside information, and is intended only for
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Jeffrey Epstein
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and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/19/2009 8:06:51 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re:

no but as bonuses get paid in jan , the fear is a renewal of the bonus tax.

On Fri, Dec 18, 2009 at 10:30 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:

> On way to Delhi from Bangalore. Do you think Obama persuadable to introduce a (Tobin) fin transaction tax ?
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry® wireless device
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> **Date:** Fri, 18 Dec 2009 06:39:00 -0500
> **To:** PETER MANDELSON<[redacted]>
> **Subject:**
>
> feel better?
>
> --
> **
>
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> Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/19/2009 8:25:45 AM
To: Peggy Siegal [redacted]]
Subject: Re: Kenya

you will be amazed by the aroma

On Sat, Dec 19, 2009 at 3:24 AM, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]> wrote:

> We are sitting in the Amsterdam airport about to take off for Nair. Headed to Cottar's Camp in the Masai Mara....got Mattie in tow...she is dressed as a runaway in ripped jeans and a hoodie and sits on the floor of every airport repacking her knapsack. She is now passed out, like the homeless. Will take photos and send.
>
> We are going to photograph ourselves with the Masai in the mud huts and say we crashed the winter White house and are posing with Obama's relatives. Miss you. Keep you posted.
> Did you see Sarah, the D on tv or speak to her?
> xoxo Peg

--
****
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constitute inside information, and is intended only for
the use of the addressee. It is the property of
Jeffrey Epstein
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and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments.

From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 8/12/2016 2:54:25 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur
Attachments: image002.jpg

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: [redacted]
Date: August 11, 2016 at 7:52:12 PM PDT
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: FW: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

From: Pizzurro, Frank (LA) <[redacted]>>
Date: Thursday, Aug 11, 2016, 7:41 PM
To: Dunlavey, Dean (OC) <[redacted]>>, Schecter, Daniel (CC) <[redacted]>>, Mohebbi, Nima (LA) <[redacted]>>, Ruemmler, Kathy (DC) <[redacted]>>
Cc: #L&W BD PR (US) <#[redacted]<mailto:#[redacted]>>, Wine, Jamie (NY) <[redacted]>>, Bruno, Nicole (NY) <[redacted]>>, Harris, Nicole (CH) <[redacted]>>, Greenberg, Jeffrey (LA-NY) <[redacted]>>, Bauer, Steve (SF-BR) <[redacted]>>, Moore, Wendy (OC) <[redacted]>>, Jennings, Alex (LA) <[redacted]>>, Robins, Greg (LA) <[redacted]>>
Subject: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

The LA Times appears to be the first media to report on the verdict. Latham references are highlighted:

BUSINESS

Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur<http://fw.to/aXv1QHI>

[Farooq Bajwa]
Farooq Bajwa

By Andrew Khouri
August 11, 2016

A federal jury decided Thursday that one of the Middle East's most prominent banks did not commit fraud and steal technology from an Irvine firm that sued it for half a billion dollars in damages after their partnership collapsed.

Orange County company InfoSpan had alleged that Emirates NBD ended a partnership for a mobile payment system because it didn't want to share revenue and stole InfoSpan's technology to launch its own service.

The Dubai-based bank, in turn, denied it stole or ever used InfoSpan's technology. It argued that it cancelled the partnership because InfoSpan couldn't produce a working product and misled it into thinking it was an established company, not one with little to no track record.

After deliberating for a day, the jury unanimously decided that InfoSpan did not prove its case of fraud and theft of trade secrets.

InfoSpan had asked for $540 million in damages. An attorney for InfoSpan declined to comment on the possibility of an appeal.

The verdict capped a two-week trial that involved dueling accusations of fraud levied by high-profile attorneys on both sides, including the former White House counsel to President Obama.

At the center of the high-stakes battle was San Juan Capistrano resident and entrepreneur Farooq Bajwa and a mobile payment system that he said would allow migrant workers in the Middle East to send remittances back home through text messages.

Bajwa contended that InfoSpan, with support from outside investors, spent $87 million developing the business and technology.

To launch the system, known as SpanCash, Bajwa partnered in 2007 with Emirates Bank, which is controlled by the United Arab Emirates' sovereign wealth fund.

It seemed the ideal collaboration for the Pakistani immigrant, who earned millions operating another Irvine company that manufactured computer components in the 1980s and 1990s

The Gulf States rely heavily on migrants to work construction and other low-wage jobs, offering a ready-made market for SpanCash. InfoSpan aimed to allow migrants to transfer money back home far more cheaply than Western Union or hawala, a traditional Middle Eastern broker-to-broker money transfer system.

A study from McKinsey & Co., cited in court records, projected annual revenue of $3.5 billion by the deal's fifth year, with InfoSpan receiving more than $2.8 billion in fees.

But the relationship between InfoSpan and Emirates Bank soured and the bank cancelled the deal in 2009.

A few days later, Emirates filed a criminal complaint in Dubai against Bajwa and a partner alleging that they defrauded the bank and misrepresented InfoSpan as an established business with a working technology.

Two years later, InfoSpan sued in U.S. District Court in Santa Ana and alleged that its technology was working and that it delivered its source code to the bank on servers. Emirates ended the deal, InfoSpan said, to launch its own mobile payment system after stealing InfoSpan's technology.

In court, an attorney for InfoSpan argued that Emirates torpedoed the InfoSpan relationship because it abhorred how much money it would have to share with the Irvine firm.

"They wanted SpanCash and they wanted the money," attorney William A. Isaacson said in his closing arguments Wednesday.

Isaacson – a partner with powerhouse law firm Boies Schiller & Flexner, chaired by high-profile litigator David Boies – argued that the bank resorted to "pure extortion" in an attempt to get its way.

As a result of the bank's criminal complaint, InfoSpan alleged Bajwa's partner, Larry Scudder, was detained at the Dubai International Airport and taken to a cell where he was locked in with 30 other men for 19 hours until he secured his release by turning over his passport.

According to the lawsuit, Bajwa tried to resolve the situation but was told Scudder's passport would be released and he could leave the country only if InfoSpan gave up ownership and control of SpanCash to the bank.

Six months later, the bank withdrew the fraud accusations and Scudder got his passport back, but SpanCash's reputation was tarnished and it collapsed, Bajwa previously told The Times.

The bank disputed that it acquired InfoSpan's source code or used it at any time.

Former White House counsel and an attorney for the bank, Kathryn Ruemmler, said that Emirates never would have acquired source code in a joint-partnership deal like the one reached with InfoSpan. She said such technology would instead be held by a third-party escrow company for the length of the partnership.

In her closing arguments, the partner with global firm Latham & Watkins told the jury that Bajwa and InfoSpan

sold the bank a "bill of goods," arguing that despite promises to Emirates, the technology never worked and InfoSpan wasn't as big a company as it claimed.
The bank cancelled the deal and filed a criminal complaint, not as a form of extortion but simply to regain the bank's money after it was misled and doubts grew about the character of InfoSpan's employees, Ruemmler told the jury.
"They concluded, definitively, that they had been defrauded," she said.
Lubna Qassim, group general counsel for Emirates Bank, said in a statement after the verdict that "Emirates Bank is gratified by today's decision and the opportunity to receive a fair trial in U.S. courts."
Bajwa said the trial has taken a toll on him and he doesn't know his next steps.
"I am just beat up," he said.
Phil Hirschkorn contributed to this report.
[redacted]
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Frank Pizzurro
Public Relations Senior Manager

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 8/12/2016 12:38:13 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

Importance: High

Yes

On Aug 12, 2016, at 7:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Awake?

On Thursday, August 11, 2016, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> Cool
>
> On Thursday, 11 August 2016, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Begin forwarded message:
>>
>> **From:** <[redacted]>
>> **Date:** August 11, 2016 at 7:52:12 PM PDT
>> **To:** <[redacted]>
>> **Subject: FW: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur**
>>
>> From: Pizzurro, Frank (LA) <[redacted]>>
>> Date: Thursday, Aug 11, 2016, 7:41 PM
>> To: Dunlavey, Dean (OC) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Schecter, Daniel (CC) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Mohebbi, Nima (LA) <[redacted]<mailto[redacted]>>, Ruemmler, Kathy (DC) <[redacted]<mailto[redacted]>>
>> Cc: #L&W BD PR (US) <#[redacted]<mailto:#L&WBDPRUS@LW.com>>, Wine, Jamie (NY) <[redacted]mailto:[redacted]>>, Bruno, Nicole (NY) <[redacted]<mailto[redacted]>>, Harris, Nicole (CH) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Greenberg, Jeffrey (LA-NY) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Bauer, Steve (SF-BR) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Moore, Wendy (OC) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Jennings, Alex (LA) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Robins, Greg (LA) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>
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Farooq Bajwa

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After deliberating for a day, the jury unanimously decided that InfoSpan did not prove its case of fraud and theft of trade secrets.

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The verdict capped a two-week trial that involved dueling accusations of fraud levied by high-profile attorneys on both sides, including the former White House counsel to President Obama.

At the center of the high-stakes battle was San Juan Capistrano resident and entrepreneur Farooq Bajwa and a mobile payment system that he said would allow migrant workers in the Middle East to send remittances back home through text messages.

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A few days later, Emirates filed a criminal complaint in Dubai against Bajwa and a partner alleging that they defrauded the bank and misrepresented InfoSpan as an established business with a working technology.

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"They concluded, definitively, that they had been defrauded," she said.

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"I am just beat up," he said.

Phil Hirschkorn contributed to this report.

andrew.khouri@latimes.com<mailto:andrew.khouri@latimes.com>

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Frank Pizzurro
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/12/2016 4:15:15 AM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Re: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

Importance: High
Flag: Follow up

Cool

On Thursday, 11 August 2016, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

> Begin forwarded message:
>
> **From:** <[redacted]>
> **Date:** August 11, 2016 at 7:52:12 PM PDT
> **To:** [redacted]
> **Subject: FW: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur**
>
> From: Pizzurro, Frank (LA) <[redacted]>>
> Date: Thursday, Aug 11, 2016, 7:41 PM
> To: Dunlavey, Dean (OC) <[redacted]>>, Schecter, Daniel (CC) <[redacted]>>, Mohebbi, Nima (LA) <[redacted]>>, Ruemmler, Kathy (DC) <[redacted]>>
> Cc: #L&W BD PR (US)[redacted], Wine, Jamie (NY) <[redacted]>, Bruno, Nicole (NY) <[redacted]>>, Harris, Nicole (CH) <[redacted]>>, Greenberg, Jeffrey (LA-NY) <[redacted]>>, Bauer, Steve (SF-BR) <[redacted]>>, Moore, Wendy (OC) <[redacted]>>, Jennings, Alex (LA) <[redacted]>>, Robins, Greg (LA) <[redacted]>
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> BUSINESS
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> [Farooq Bajwa]
> Farooq Bajwa

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Phil Hirschkorn contributed to this report.

[redacted]>

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Frank Pizzurro
Public Relations Senior Manager

LATHAM & WATKINS LLP
355 South Grand Avenue | Los Angeles, CA 90071-1560
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/20/2014 10:41:12 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

I signed the lease in my name for a year, so I think I am pretty stuck. It is $11,000 a month and Latham reimburses me $8000 a month.

On Sep 20, 2014 6:35 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
whose name is the apt in , does it have to be this one? or would another be ok.

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:54 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
It appears that way. I have advised that him staying through the end is the clearly preferable alternative.

On Sep 20, 2014 3:52 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
so is he the alternate in essence

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:49 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Mid-October, but there will be another run at him to reconsider.

On Sep 20, 2014 3:42 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
date certain? hamlet. ?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 2:25 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Date?

On Sep 20, 2014 2:22 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
eric?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 12:59 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
You are on the move. I went out for some retail therapy.

On Sep 20, 2014 12:51 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
now [redacted]

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 10:03 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Oh, sorry. [redacted].

On Sep 20, 2014 10:01 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Boy are you focused , I meant what number to call you on

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
He got 60. Rs controlled the Senate then.

On Sep 20, 2014 9:44 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Number?

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Wow

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, Kathy Ruemmler <kathyruemmler@gmail.com> wrote:

http://en.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Floor_Statement_of_Senator_Barack_Obama_on_the_Nomination_of_Alberto_Gonzales_for_Attorney_General

Sent from my iPad

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/20/2014 11:13:01 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

Furnished

On Sep 20, 2014 7:12 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
furnished or un?

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/20/2014 11:45:34 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/21/2014 2:54:20 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

Yep. Will be there.

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Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

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On Sep 20, 2014 10:01 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Boy are you focused , I meant what number to call you on

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Wow

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http://en.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Floor_Statement_of_Senator_Barack_Obama_on_the_Nomination_of_Alberto_Gonzales_for_Attorney_General

Sent from my iPad

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From: Kathy Ruemmler[redacted]
Sent: 9/21/2014 1:02:01 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

I will. I drank too much wine last night and am dragging a bit this morning.

On Sep 21, 2014 5:15 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
my chef is in from paris, stay hungry

> On Sun, Sep 21, 2014 at 12:55 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
> Will be there at 1.
>
> On Sep 20, 2014 7:54 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> ok 1?
>
> > On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 7:45 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
> > I won't get back to the city until @ 11:30, unfortunately.
> >
> > On Sep 20, 2014 7:43 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> > see you at 1030? tomor?
> >
> > > On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 7:13 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
> > > Furnished
> > >
> > > On Sep 20, 2014 7:12 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> > > furnished or un?
> > >
> > > > On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 6:41 PM, Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]> wrote:
> > > > I signed the lease in my name for a year, so I think I am pretty stuck. It is $11,000 a month and Latham reimburses me $8000 a month.
> > > >
> > > > On Sep 20, 2014 6:35 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> > > > whose name is the apt in , does it have to be this one? or would another be ok.
> > > >
> > > > > On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:54 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
> > > > > It appears that way. I have advised that him staying through the end is the clearly preferable alternative.
> > > > >
> > > > > On Sep 20, 2014 3:52 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> > > > > so is he the alternate in essence
> > > > >
> > > > > > On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:49 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
> > > > > > Mid-October, but there will be another run at him to reconsider.
> > > > > >
> > > > > > On Sep 20, 2014 3:42 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> > > > > > date certain? hamlet. ?
> > > > > >
> > > > > > > On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 2:25 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
> > > > > > > Date?

On Sep 20, 2014 2:22 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
eric?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 12:59 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
You are on the move. I went out for some retail therapy.

On Sep 20, 2014 12:51 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
now [redacted]

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 10:03 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Oh, sorry. [redacted]

On Sep 20, 2014 10:01 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 2/2/2019 12:56:59 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Got it. Quinn offered a $2 mm signing bonus today. I said not leaving Latham.

On Feb 1, 2019, at 6:26 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

do you think trump has the power to declare a national emergency to build the wall?

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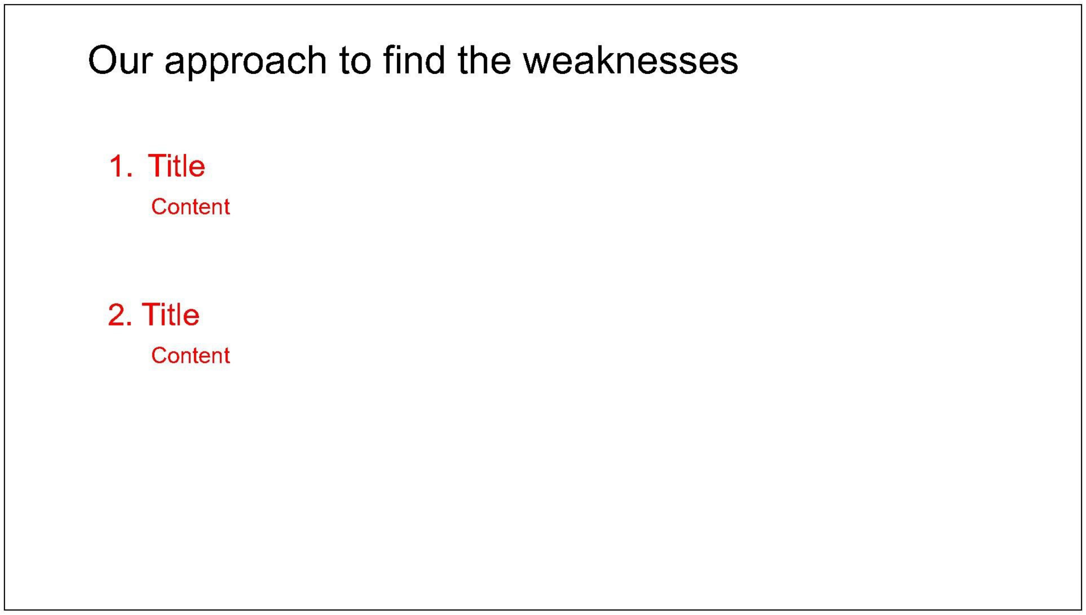
Proposal

Introduction

1. What is JASTA?
2. What is the impact of JASTA on KSA politically and economically?



Our approach to find the weaknesses

1. Title

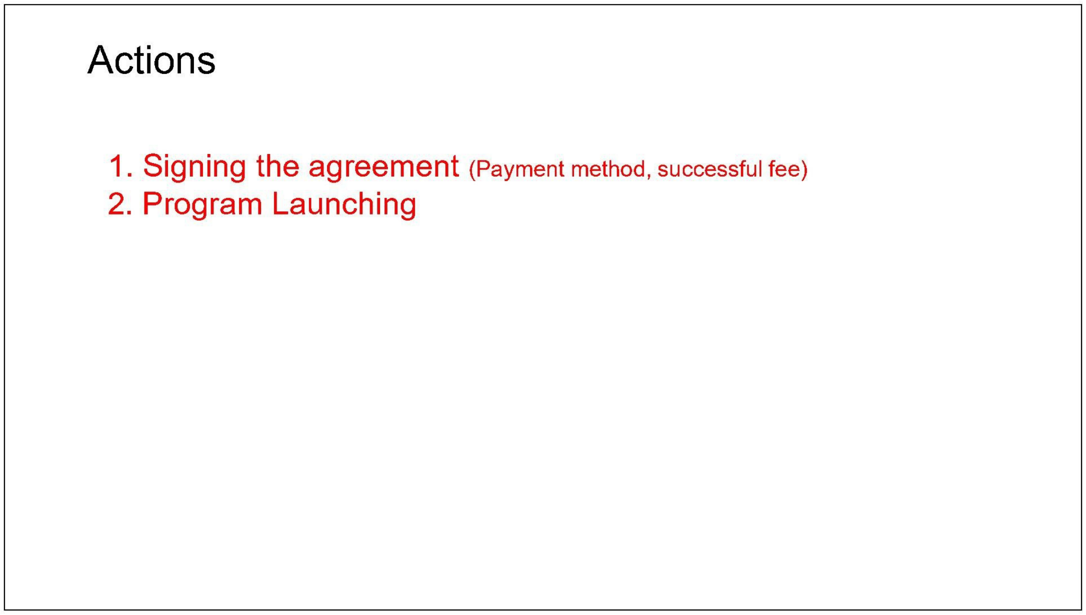
   Content

2. Title

   Content

Timeline

Timeline of our approach



Actions

1. Signing the agreement (Payment method, successful fee)
2. Program Launching

Leaders

Kathryn Ruemmler

- Kathryn is an attorney who formerly served as White House Counsel to President Barack Obama. She previously worked as Principal Deputy White House Counsel.
- Former federal prosecutor who helped lead the government’s case against the former executives of Enron.
- In 2006, she delivered the government's closing argument in the trial of former Enron executives Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling.
- She returned to Latham in 2007, this time as a partner.
- From 2000 to 2001 she served as Associate Counsel to President Clinton.
- She was a litigation partner in the Washington, D.C. office of Latham & Watkins from 2007
- She serve as principal associate deputy attorney general at the Justice Department.
- In 2014 Ruemmler was speculated as being a potential candidate as the next United States Attorney General

Ken Starr

- Ken Starr is an American lawyer who has also been a federal judge and U.S. Solicitor General.
- Former President and Chancellor of Baylor University
- Held the Louise L. Morrison Chair of Constitutional Law at Baylor University Law School.
- He carried out a controversial investigation of members of the Clinton administration.
- Starr served as a federal Court of Appeals judge and as solicitor general for George H. W. Bush.
- He received the most publicity for his tenure as independent counsel while Bill Clinton was U.S. president.
- The three-judge panel charged with administering the Independent Counsel Act later expanded the inquiry into numerous areas including an extramarital affair that Bill Clinton had with Monica Lewinsky.
- After several years of investigation, Starr filed the Starr Report, which alleged that Bill Clinton had lied about the existence of the affair during a sworn deposition.

From: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 5/29/2019 5:19:07 PM
To: 'J' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]
Subject: CONFIDENTIAL

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.
20 Park Plaza
Suite 1000
Boston, MA 02116
[redacted] - Office
- Cell

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From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2019 12:48 PM
To: Martin G. Weinberg <[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Reporter question

Privileged - Redacted

On Wed, May 29, 2019 at 12:45 PM Martin G. Weinberg [redacted] wrote:

> Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.
>
> 20 Park Plaza
>
> Suite 1000
>
> Boston, MA 02116
>
> [redacted] - Office
>
> - Cell
>
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From: Kate Briquelet <[redacted]>
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2019 12:34 PM
To: Martin Weinberg <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Reporter question

Hi Marty,

Hope all is well. Noticed this Guardian story about Michael Wolff's new book, which states Donald Trump purchased a Palm Beach property Mr. Epstein had planned to buy, behind Mr. Epstein's back. And that Mr. Epstein threatened to expose Trump's shady real estate deals. Do you know anything about this? Does Mr. Epstein have any knowledge of illegal or suspicious dealings by President Trump?

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/28/bannon-trump-organization-criminal-enterprise-comments-michael-wolff-book

Also, we plan on running a story this Friday about the Crime Victims' Rights Act suit, and the Jane Does' proposed remedies. The alleged victims want the U.S. Attorney's Office to rescind the immunity provisions in the NPA, and to pursue a prosecution against Mr. Epstein and his co-conspirators. Can you comment on this?

Thanks so much!

Kate

Kate Briquelet
Senior Reporter
P [redacted]

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From: Daniel Siad [redacted]
Sent: 7/24/2010 1:32:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

the other girl name is **Anastasia kuznetsova**

On Sat, Jul 24, 2010 at 2:28 PM, Daniel Siad <[redacted]> wrote:

> Can you call me
> I am with tigrane he would like to meet you he is here with me in Ibiza with 8 top girls he said he would like to build some thing with you
> can you come to Ibiza we have a huge house or how can we orgnise this meeting even Jean Luc could doo a great biz also
> he has the most amizing top models on stand by I told him not to do any deals with anybody before he meet with you .
> he stoped working with IMG and Trump wi here please call me and let me know what is your plans
> [redacted]
> warmest regards
> Daniel
>
> On Fri, Jul 23, 2010 at 2:38 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
>> what is your schedule?
>>
>> --
>> **
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Date: Saturday, July 24 2010 04:13 PM
Subject: Re:
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Daniel Siad [redacted];

i will be in paris tomooorw night

On Sat, Jul 24, 2010 at 9:32 AM, Daniel Siad <[redacted]> wrote:

> the other girl name is **Anastasia kuznetsova**
>
> On Sat, Jul 24, 2010 at 2:28 PM, Daniel Siad <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > Can you call me
> > I am with tigrane he would like to meet you he is here with me in Ibiza with 8 top girls he said he would like to build some thing with you
> > can you come to Ibiza we have a huge house or how can we orgnise this meeting even Jean Luc could doo a great biz also
> > he has the most amizing top models on stand by I told him not to do any deals with anybody before he meet with you .
> > he stoped working with IMG and Trump wi here please call me and let me know what is your plans
> > [redacted]
> > warmest regards
> > Daniel
> >
> > On Fri, Jul 23, 2010 at 2:38 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> >
> > > what is your schedule?
> > >
> > > --
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The
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Presidential Press Bulletin

22 June, 2011

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Article 1.

The Washington Post

Avoiding a summer of blood

David Ignatius

June 22 -- “Peace is at hand,” Henry Kissinger famously announced in October 1972 after a seeming breakthrough in Vietnam negotiations. But it wasn’t at hand. It took three more months to complete the Paris Peace Accords, which collapsed in 1975 when North Vietnam overran Saigon.

This Vietnam history is a caution against premature optimism about diplomatic solutions to deeply embedded conflicts, such as the one in Afghanistan. But the fact remains, as is so often stated, that there is no military solution to such conflicts. The challenge is creating a dialogue among people who profoundly mistrust each other — and averting a pell-mell civil war.

President Obama is embracing the logic of a political settlement for Afghanistan with his speech Wednesday night. With Osama bin Laden dead, Obama can claim that America’s core mission of combating al-Qaeda is succeeding. He can bring some troops home and step up diplomatic negotiations with the Taliban to reach a broad peace deal by 2014.

Obama’s strategy for the Afghanistan negotiations highlights two factors that could also be relevant in the increasingly messy conflicts in Libya and Syria. First, the dialogue must be sponsored by people inside the country that’s facing internal strife. The United States may encourage contacts, but the process has to be “Afghan-led,” or “Libyan-led,” or “Syrian-led.” Second, this dialogue requires a regional framework, so that the combatants don’t turn to meddling neighbors for help.

America’s secret contacts with the Taliban have made progress partly because President Hamid Karzai wants them to succeed and, perhaps more important, because India, Pakistan, Russia and China are also supporting the outreach process — with silent acquiescence from Iran, too. This regional framework is the real exit ramp that will allow withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Let’s think about how this diplomatic model might apply to Libya and Syria. In both cases, the insurgents are seen in the West as the “good guys,” battling corrupt, autocratic leaders. Personally, I wish that both Moammar Gaddafi and Bashar al-Assad would give up power tomorrow. But that doesn’t seem in the cards: Both leaders have shown they’re willing to kill thousands of their citizens to hang on, and the rebel movements in both countries seem too weak to displace the dictators by force. Outside military intervention may seem tempting, but it isn’t working very well in Libya, and might fare even worse in Syria.

The right goal in Libya and Syria (as in Afghanistan) is a transition to an inclusive, democratic government — with as little bloodshed along the way as possible. The alternative to such a settlement is a protracted conflict that could mean massacres of civilians and, on present evidence, a bloody stalemate that further destabilizes the region.

It’s distasteful to contemplate dialogue with leaders such as Gaddafi and Assad who, to put it bluntly, have blood on their hands. But this approach is worth exploring if it can foster a transition to a democratic government — where the autocrats cede power to a coalition that includes reformist elements of the old regime and the opposition.

An emissary who is close to Gaddafi’s inner circle has outlined in recent interviews a Libyan formula for transition. He proposes a gradual transfer of power to a new government that would unite the rebel Transitional National Council with “reconcilables” from the regime. Gaddafi himself would quit Tripoli and give up power, but this would be an outcome of negotiations, rather than a precondition. State Department officials are skeptical, but they should test the emissary’s ability to deliver.

The Syrian case is also complicated by the blood-soaked history of the regime. In a speech Monday, Assad proposed a national dialogue, in which the democratic opposition would select 100 participants to meet with government representatives — and plan elections and a new constitution. Given Assad’s disappointing record, it’s doubtful that he can or will deliver. But it makes sense to test his offer — not least because such a process would terrify Assad’s patrons in Iran. If the dialogue fails, the Syrian demonstrations will be all the more potent, and Assad’s hold weaker.

These internal dialogues should be bolstered by regional support, as with Afghanistan. The right shepherds for Libya are its newly democratic neighbors, Egypt and Tunisia, backed by France, Britain and Germany. In Syria, the obvious mediator-in-waiting is Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, backed by the Gulf countries.

Here’s the point: The Arab Spring should not turn into a summer of blood, if there are diplomatic alternatives.

Article 2.

Project Syndicate

The Middle East's Slow-Motion Revolution

Prince El Hassan bin Talal

2011-06-21 -- AMMAN – There seem to be a thousand and one interpretations of the changes sweeping across the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. One response that is often heard is a note of cautious optimism, captured in US President Barack Obama recent speech at the State Department when he referred to the "promise of the future."

But sometimes we also hear the populist smears that have been applied to the Middle East for so long that nothing, it seems – no amount of extraordinary change – can silence them. After the successful revolts in Cairo and Tunis, the slanders abated. Soon, however, the old messages depicting the Middle East as extreme, fundamentalist, and hostile to democracy began to re-insinuate themselves in the West.

On the other hand, ordinary men and women in the West seem to feel an instinctive sympathy toward their counterparts in the Middle East and North Africa, many of whom are paying the ultimate price in fighting for their rights. These sacrifices have convinced many Westerners that the Middle East is not beyond redemption, and that the region's people should be given a chance to enjoy the same liberty that they do.

This clash of perceptions has caught the world's policy experts and analysts off guard. That, too, is not surprising, because the situation remains an amorphous mix of hope and destruction.

But today, in Amman, as in almost every Arab capital, independent meetings and debates about how to move forward are taking place in art galleries, think tanks, salons, ordinary households, and, most significantly, online. A region often depicted as "backward" is debating its destiny both face-to-face and across social networks every second of every day.

Yet tweeting is no substitute for thought. Indeed, the events and personalities that have so far gained attention seem to fill the void where the declarations of freedom and treatises on rights – where the ideas – should be.

The result is the confusion that we now see. Contradictions abound. Governments across the region have been identified as the problem, and yet the state is being called upon to address a social and political agenda that has not yet been fully defined. We are seeing the birth of a more democratic spirit among the region's peoples, but a corresponding sense of democratic responsibility remains underdeveloped.

No matter how influential new media have been, they cannot replace the need for a region-wide "manifesto for change" that all who seek freedom can embrace. Any such manifesto must address the two elephants in the room – Palestine and the price of oil – as well as the extent to which regional water and energy resources, now rapidly depleting, should be shared. (Here, I and experts from around the world have been calling for the creation of a Supranational Commission for Water and Energy to ensure the kind of sustainable resource management that the Strategic Foresight Group has labeled "Blue Peace.")

Of course, generating ideas is easier said than done. By limiting free speech and forcing millions of young people to stay at home without jobs, the only public space left for many people happens to be virtual. Arab governments switched their people off, so their people migrated online. The result is that an old guard now confronts a new wave, and the two sides think entirely differently and speak at cross-purposes. Whatever the new wave's limitations, its borderless online conversations are offsetting the region's political, religious, social, and cultural balkanization. The people of West Asia and North Africa are talking among themselves, even if their governments remain remote. That is a source of hope, if not yet of the systematic and coherent ideas about how to remake their societies that the region needs.

Cyber-activism has its limits; it cannot, in the end, deliver either democracy or prosperity. Communication may be instant, but, with no coherent animating ideology, the revolution proceeds in slow motion. The battle being fought for the soul of the Middle East cannot be won online, nor can it be subdued through the cynical manipulation of trust and fear. The quality of freedom in the Middle East, as elsewhere, will depend on its supporters' commitment to liberal and democratic values.

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal is chairman and founder of the Arab Thought Forum and the West Asia-North Africa Forum.

Article 3.

Stratfor

Turkey's Inevitable Problems With Neighbors

June 21, 2011 -- Syrian President Bashar al Assad delivered a long and uneventful speech Monday, during which he basically divided Syria's protest society into three categories: the good, the criminal and the Salafi. Assad claimed that instability caused by the latter two was to blame for the delay in implementing reforms. Rather than promising concrete reforms that have been strongly urged by the Turks, the Syrian president emphasized that security had to come first, while trying to present himself as a neutral mediator between the population and security forces. Not surprisingly, the speech fell on deaf ears throughout Syria, but also in Ankara, where the government let its growing impatience show and told the Syrian president once again that he isn't doing enough to satisfy the demands of his people. With more than 10,000 Syrian refugees spilling across the Turkish border to escape the army's siege, the situation in Syria is undoubtedly growing desperate. However, we have not yet seen the red flags that would indicate the al Assad regime is in imminent danger of collapse. The reasons are fairly straightforward. The al Assad clan belongs to Syria's Alawite minority, who only 40 years ago were living under the thumb of the country's majority Sunni population. Four decades in power is not a long time, and vengeance is a powerful force in this part of the world. The Alawites understand that they face an existential crisis, and if they allow their grip over the Baath-dominated political system - and most importantly the military - to loosen even slightly, they will likely become the prime targets of a Sunni vendetta campaign aiming to return the Alawites to their subservient status. This may explain why al Assad felt the need to stress in his speech that his minority government would not take "revenge" against those who stand down from their protests.

Turkey is understandably nervous about what is happening next door in Syria. Ankara would prefer a Syria ruled by a stable Sunni regime, especially one that would look to Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) for political guidance. However, the Turks can see that Alawite leadership will not leave power without a long and bloody fight. Recreating a sphere of Turkish-modeled Sunni influence in the Levant may be a long-term goal for Ankara, but the Turkish government is certainly not prepared to pay the near-term cost of civil strife in Syria spilling across Turkish borders.

Turkey has so far addressed this dilemma mainly through rhetoric, issuing angry speeches against Syrian leadership, while floating the idea of a military buffer zone for Syrian refugees. For awhile, assuming the role of regional disciplinarian played well to an AKP public-relations strategy that portrayed Turkey as the model for the Arab Spring and the go-to mediator for the Mideast's problems. But the more Syria destabilizes - and with each time it ignores Ankara's demands - the more Turkey risks appearing impotent.

The crisis in Syria will likely lead to a recalibration of Turkish foreign policy. The architect of Turkey's foreign policy, Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, coined the phrase "zero problems with neighbors" to describe the guiding principle of Turkey's interactions with surrounding regimes. Turkey obviously has a problem with Syria's leadership, and not a small one. It is becoming increasingly apparent that Turkey may not yet have what it takes to deal with Syria, beyond issuing rhetorical censures. Establishing a military buffer zone as a safe haven for Syrian refugees not only would call for an international mandate, but would entail Turkish troops occupying foreign land - which would likely set off alarm bells among Arabs who already suspect Turkey of harboring a so-called neo-Ottoman agenda. Turkey's ardent support for Libyan rebels against Moammar Gadhafi and public backing for Syrian opposition forces have already unnerved Arab monarchist regimes that are trying to undermine the effects of the Arab Spring and are growing distrustful of Turkish intentions. Moreover, any move construed as Turkey trying to facilitate the downfall of the al Assad regime would undoubtedly create problems with Iran, a neighbor Turkey has taken great care to avoid aggravating. Iran relies heavily on the Alawite regime in Syria to maintain a foothold in the Levant through groups like Hezbollah in Lebanon and Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. Since the return of Syria to Sunni control would unravel a key pillar of Iranian deterrent strategy, we can expect that Iran is doing everything possible to undermine the very Syrian opposition forces looking to Ankara for support. Turkey has avoided confrontation with Iran thus far while working quietly to build a Sunni counterbalance to Iranian-backed Shia in Iraq in the face of an impending U.S. withdrawal. A power vacuum in Syria filled by Turkish-backed Sunnis would reinforce a nascent confrontation between Iran and Turkey with deep geopolitical underpinnings. Nations do not have friends; they have interests. And Turkey, an historically influential country sitting on one of the most geopolitically complex pieces of real estate in the world, is now finding that a foreign policy built on avoiding problems with neighbors grinds against reality. In STRATFOR's view, this was inevitable, which is why we took interest in Monday's issue of Today's Zaman, an English-language outlet loyal to the movement of Fethullah Gulen and strongly supportive of the ruling AKP. Two editorials in Monday's publication held that the Syrian crisis has exposed the coming demise of Turkey's "zero problems with neighbors" policy.

That this idea is being introduced into the public discourse is revealing, not only of Turkey's internal debate on this issue, but also of the message that Ankara may be trying to send to the United States and others: It needs time to develop the wherewithal to meaningfully influence its neighborhood. The United States wants Turkey to help shoulder the burden of managing the Middle East as it looks to extricate its military from Iraq. Washington especially needs to develop a strong counterbalance to Iran - a role historically filled by Turkey. This obviously presents a conflict of interests: Washington is trying to push Turkey into a role it's not quite ready for; meanwhile, Turkey is trying to sort out its growing pains while appearing influential abroad.

Turkey's evolution will be difficult and uncomfortable, but this should not come as a surprise. "Zero problems with neighbors" worked well for Turkey at the start of the century, as it came out of its domestic shell, yet took care to avoid being seen as a resurgent power with imperial interests. After a decade of regional conflict, Turkey is finding that problems with neighbors are not only unavoidable, but may even be necessary as the Turkish state redefines its core interests.

Article 4.

Agence Global

A Defiant Asad Sticks to His Guns

Patrick Seale

21 Jun 2011 -- All those dreaming of -- and working for -- ‘regime change’ in Syria will be outraged by President Bashar al-Asad’s speech last Monday, 20 June. They want him out, together with the hate figures around him who have been conducting the brutal repression of the protest movement. But he is not stepping down. He intends to stay on -- and to fight on.

Asad gave no ground to his political enemies. The speech was not, in fact, addressed to them. It was addressed to Syria’s ‘silent majority’ which -- or so the President continues to believe -- aspires to security, stability and national unity, and is terrified, above all, of a sectarian war on the Iraqi model.

The President explained that, in order to understand the nature of the crisis, he had held several meetings in recent weeks with citizens from all parts of the country. He wanted to hear directly from them. The conclusion he had reached was that there were several different components to the protest movement.

First, there were those who had legitimate demands, who wanted justice, democracy and jobs, and the resolution of problems which had accumulated over decades. Their demands could not be ignored. He intended to address them and had already started to do so. But then there were the others -- the criminal outlaws, the blasphemous intellectuals who spoke in the name of religion, the vandals, conspirators and paid agents of foreign powers. Under cover of the protest movement, they had taken up arms against the state!

These conspirators, he said, had called for foreign intervention, they had smeared Syria’s image and destroyed public and private property.

They had no respect for state institutions or the rule of law. No reform was possible with such vandals.

He dismissed the argument that Syria was not facing a conspiracy. There was a conspiracy, he declared – designed abroad and perpetrated inside the country. How else to explain the satellite phones, the advanced weapons, the guns mounted on trucks in the hands of his enemies? Syria had always been a target of conspiracy. He had long been under pressure to abandon his principles. (No doubt, by this he meant his Arab nationalist convictions, his alliance with Iran and Hizbullah, his opposition to Israel and the United States.) Syria needed to strengthen its immunity against such conspiracies, he insisted.

In this defiant speech, President Asad made no mention of the abuses of his security services -- the callous use of live fire against civilians, the killing of well over a thousand protesters, the deployment of tanks to besiege rebellious cities, the mass arrests, the beatings and the torture, the flight of terrified refugees across Syria's borders -- a catalogue of outrages which has shattered Syria's reputation and earned it international condemnation. The refugees in Turkey should return home, he said. They would not be punished. The army would protect them. But those who have had a taste of army brutality may not be persuaded by the President's assurances. He did, however, have a word of condolence for bereaved mothers.

The heart of Asad's address was a statement of his ambition to shape a new vision for Syria's future. Reform, he declared, was his firm conviction. His one big idea -- the centrepiece of his speech -- was a plan for a National Dialogue. A special authority had been set up to work out the necessary arrangements for this great debate, which he hoped would provide for the widest possible popular participation. The task was to create a forum where far-reaching political and economic reforms could be discussed, so that legislation could then be drafted and passed into law. There could be no giant leap into the unknown because decisions taken now would affect Syria for decades to come.

The speech will disappoint all those who had hoped for immediate and dramatic reforms. The President served up a diet of words rather than of actions. He did mention, however, that elections would take place in August, and that among the bills to be discussed would be a new electoral law, a law allowing for the formation of political parties, a media law, a law to give greater powers to municipal authorities, and the need to amend or even entirely rewrite the Constitution. He seemed to be indicating that the notorious Article 8 of the Constitution, which gives the Ba'th party a "leading role in state and society," might be scrapped.

This may well prove hard to achieve. Having enjoyed a monopoly on the political scene since 1963, Syria's Ba'th party has long since become rigid and Stalinist, and is probably incapable of sharing power with other parties. More battles lie ahead.

To all but his diehard political enemies, President Asad seemed thoughtful and even conciliatory. He did not look like a leader battling for survival. No doubt, the credits outweigh the debits in his personal profit-and-loss account. He knows that he need fear no foreign military intervention: After Libya, no Western power would even contemplate it. Some soldiers have defected to the rebels, but there has been no major split in the army or the security services, or in the regime itself. Whatever disputes and dissensions there may have been in the ruling circle have been carefully hidden from view. He knows that so long as they remain united, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the opposition to topple him.

At the UN and elsewhere, Syria enjoys the protection of Russia -- perhaps concerned for its naval base at Tartus. The Russian view is that the Syrian crisis poses no threat to international peace and security. China, India, South Africa and Brazil all side with Syria. At home, the country will not face starvation -- this year’s wheat harvest is estimated at 3.6m tons. Oil and gas exports have so far not been affected.

On the debit side, however, tourism has collapsed; inward investment has dried up; the increase Asad has decree in the salaries of government bureaucrats is estimated to cost $1bn a year -- driving the government deficit to dangerous heights. If the crisis continues much longer, Syria will need a large cash injection from somewhere, and is probably looking to Qatar. Then there is the unpredictable factor. What if the protests continue and become more violent? Will the merchant middle class, the backbone of the regime, remain loyal? Could the economy take the strain? What might next Friday bring?

I was reached this week on the phone by a well-placed Syrian, close to the regime. “Western condemnation of Syria is pure hypocrisy,” he fumed. “Every regime in the world will try to destroy its enemies. Have you heard of a place called Abu Ghraib? Or the hundreds of thousands killed by America in Iraq? Or Israel’s massacre in Gaza? Or the 10,000 Palestinians in Israeli jails? If the U.S. and Israel can get away with large-scale killing and torture, why can’t we? They claim to act in self-defence, so do we!”

It would seem that lawlessness and contempt for human life are contagious.

Patrick Seale is a leading British writer on the Middle East. His latest book is The Struggle for Arab Independence: Riad el-Solh and the Makers of the Modern Middle East (Cambridge University Press).

Article 5.

Foreign Policy In Focus

Egypt's Evolving Foreign Policy

Richard Javad Heydarian

June 21, 2011 -- Egypt was once a major player in the Middle East, particularly under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1950s and 1960s. Over the last decades, Egypt gradually lost its prestige and influence in the region as it became an introverted autocratic regime. In the post-Nasserite period, Egypt strengthened its ties with Israel, isolated Hamas, repressed domestic Islamic movements, marginalized democratic forces, and confronted regional powers such as Iran. However, with the political demise of Hosni Mubarak the country's foreign policy is gradually moving in a direction that better reflects popular sentiments. The new Egypt is looking to normalize relations with countries like Iran, re-evaluate ties with Israel, and tilt more toward the Palestinian cause. Given its profound cultural capital, powerful military, huge population, and strong economic fundamentals, Egypt could not only regain its regional influence but also play a more assertive and prominent international role. More importantly, the emergence of a democratic system in Egypt could transform the country into a model for the Arab world.

Democratic Earthquake

Domestic factors like corruption, political repression, and desperate economic conditions galvanized the populace against the Egyptian state. But Mubarak's foreign policy doctrine also contributed to the erosion of his political base. The democratic revolution was also a response to the government's complicity in the siege of Gaza, seeming timidity in foreign affairs, and his growing reliance on the United States for the perpetuation of his reign. The High Council of the Armed Forces currently rules Egypt, and the military shows no sign of making a decisive break with the past. Nevertheless, the new leaders are more wary and sensitive to the qualms of the people. The prosecution of former ministers, officials, and even the former president and his family symbolizes the junta’s responsiveness to popular demands. The military’s consistently expressed commitment to push through with democratic elections and create a conducive environment for an eventual transition to a civilian democratic political system indicates that the balance of forces has shifted to the people — despite the lingering threat of counterrevolution, mobilization fatigue, and medium-term disenchantment with democracy. The military occupies a position of prestige and privilege in the society, and it is in its best interest to create a smooth transfer of power in succeeding months and years. Perpetuating the policies of the past regime would anger the population. So it's more than likely that the new Egyptian leadership will review the tenets of the former regime’s foreign policy architecture. The Islamists are already pre-empting their opponents by talking about how they seek to emulate the Turkish model, where Islam and political moderation coincide, especially in the realm of foreign affairs. Moreover, the Muslim Brotherhood has expressed its interest in occupying more low profile and welfare-oriented executive ministries. So far, the Islamists have not even vied for the position of presidency, content with gaining some parliamentary representation and possibly some influence in the executive branch. The Islamists at this point are more concerned with gaining domestic political support and avoiding any backlash from the military, democrats, and foreign powers. Any Islamist-backed radical departure from the past could justify a crackdown by the military or compromise the country's economic well-being and political stability, which could, in turn, erode broader popular support for their agenda. However, if Israel steps up its aggressive policies in the region — with the West failing to support the democrats — the Islamists could try to pressure the government — through mass rallies, political mobilization, and populist rhetoric — to abrogate the peace treaty with Israel or to qualitatively shift, if not downgrade, bilateral relations with the United States. Such a dynamic would inadvertently put pressure on post-revolutionary Egypt to be more assertive in its ties with Israel and the West.

The Gushing Wound of Palestine

The Palestinian question has been at the heart of the Arab political discourse for the last seven decades. The 1979 peace deal between Egypt and Israel ushered in an unprecedented phase of strong bilateral cooperation between the two former enemies, but it was also a major cause of the unpopularity of both Sadat and Mubarak. Israel benefited from the cold peace by neutralizing the most powerful conventional force in the Arab world. It even coordinated closely with Egypt on the siege of Gaza.Although the peace accords allowed Egypt to avoid another conflict with Israel and win substantial economic-military aid from the United States, the country's image has suffered a significant blow in the last three decades. Strategically, Egypt's withdrawal from the Arab-Israeli conflict allowed other powers to raise their political profile and regional influence. The resulting strategic vacuum simply shifted the regional balance of power in favor of non-Arab and/or non-traditional powers. Iran, Syria, and Qatar — and later Turkey — have been the biggest beneficiaries of Egypt's neutrality on the Palestinian issue.

Aware of the popular sentiment in favor of the Palestinian cause, the new Egyptian leadership initiated two important policy shifts. First, it re-opened the Rafah border, which has allowed most residents of Gaza to escape the suffocating siege imposed by Israel. Second, Egypt has played an active role in facilitating the unity deal between rival factions in Palestine. The deal represents the best chance for Palestinians to finally form a united front in future negotiations with

Israel and break the oppressive deadlock that has plagued previous negotiations. These two developments may portend more critical foreign policy reformulations, especially on Israeli-Egyptian relations, in coming years.

Reaching out to Others

Anxieties over political change in Egypt are not only confined to the Palestine-Israel equation. Egypt's emerging détente with Iran is beginning to worry not only the United States and Israel, but also monarchies in the Persian Gulf. A year before the 2011 revolution, many prominent leaders in Egypt and the Arab world began to realize the value of normalized relations with Iran. The two countries began to consider the resumption of direct flights between the two nations after 32 years. Also in 2010, the head of the Arab League, Amr Moussa, urged member countries to acknowledge the new geopolitical realities in the region: namely, the rise of non-Arab countries such as Turkey and Iran. He touched on the thorny issue of Iran-Arab tensions by stating, "I realize that some are worried about Iran but that is precisely why we need the dialogue." He reiterated his position after the revolution as he was preparing to run for the presidency in the Egyptian elections:"Iran is not the natural enemy of Arabs… We have a lot to gain by peaceful relations -- or less tense relations -- with Iran." Just weeks after the downfall of Mubarak, Egypt allowed Iranian warships to cross the Suez Canal, provoking uproar among Israelis and even Americans. In succeeding months, the diplomatic flirtation between the two countries took an even more interesting turn when Egyptian Foreign Minister Nabil El-Arabi stated that Egypt was "turning over a new leaf with all countries, including Iran." Iran's Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi immediately expressed his country's appreciation of El-Arabi's comments by expressing his wishes for "expansion in relations." The two ministers met on the sidelines of the Organization of Islamic

Conference (OIC) in Bali, where the OIC expressed its support for improvement of ties between the two major Muslim countries.

Egypt’s Changing Role

Gamal Abdel Nasser was the central figure behind the first Arab revolution, which precipitated the withdrawal of colonial powers, Britain and France, from the Middle East. As Saudi Arabia spearheads a regional counter-revolution by abetting repressive monarchs in the Persian Gulf and providing sanctuary to fallen autocrats — with President Saleh of Yemen being among the latest beneficiaries — post-revolutionary Egypt could once again inspire change across the region. Given its size, history, and cultural influence, a successful transition to democracy would undoubtedly transform Egypt into a role model for smaller fellow Arab countries. The era of yes men in the Arab world is beginning to end, and the new Egypt — though it has maintained good ties with the U.S. — will be more assertive and independent in its foreign policy choices. The case of Turkey is very instructive. Despite being a pillar of NATO, and a strong ally of the Unites States, Turkey has repeatedly shown its independence on a number of key regional issues such as Iran's nuclear program, the invasion of Iraq, and the siege of Gaza. There are limits to this independence. Egypt is heavily reliant on aid, investments, tourism, and trade. Economic concerns are still the country’s top priority. According to the latest Gallup poll, the majority of Egyptians are extremely pessimistic about the economy. Therefore, the priority of post-revolutionary Egypt’s leaders is ultimately the restoration of confidence and economic dynamism. Democrats and Islamists are also aware that the military could choose to intervene — with tacit support from outside — if the democratic process gives birth to a radical government that jeopardizes the interests of the military and the state. This has been the case in other comparable countries such as Turkey and Pakistan, where the military has also played a central role in determining the destiny of the nation-state. Egypt is still the top U.S. recipient of military assistance after Israel. It is simply too embedded in the U.S. military-industrial complex to risk alienating Washington. So, too, has the financial clout and political weight of the Gulf Cooperation Council made a precipitous Egyptian tilt toward Iran unlikely. Already, the Saudis are reportedly trying to sabotage the emerging rapprochement between the two countries. According to the head of Iran's Interest Section in Cairo Mojtaba Amani, “Saudi Arabia has even threatened to expel 1.5 million workers to dissuade Cairo from the resumption of ties with Tehran.” Given these undeniable realities, an abrogation of the Israeli-Egyptian 1979 peace accords or the formation of an axis between Iran and Egypt is not in the offing. Moreover, the Egyptian foreign minister has injected realism into the rapprochement euphoria by indicating that Iran should not expect any substantial improvement in bilateral ties unless a new government is elected. In fact, just recently, Egypt expelled an Iranian on grounds of espionage, denting efforts by both states to improve relations. Nonetheless, Egyptians from across the political spectrum seem to support normalizing ties. A delegation composed of Egyptian academics and civil society leaders recently visited Iran. According to a member of the delegate, Mustafa Nagar, “Iranians believe Egypt is a strong country, not only to put Israel under pressure, but to benefit from the Egyptians themselves, that’s why Egypt must restore ties with this great civilization.”

The Post-Hegemonic Era

The United States should play a constructive role in the democratic transition of Egypt. Despite anxieties over the possible shift in Cairo’s foreign policy doctrine, Washington should ensure that the development of civil democratic institutions is not, again, compromised in the name of stability. The last thing Washington needs is the emergence of a Pakistan-like political system, where the military controls the state at the expense of economic development, democratization, and political stability. The collapse of Arab autocracies and the impending conflagration in Pakistan should serve as wake-up calls for policymakers in Washington.

Instead of indiscriminately throwing its weight around and unconditionally cultivating ties with intransigent allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia, the United States should be looking toward further cooperation with powerful and democratizing countries such as Turkey and Egypt. Maintenance and deepening of close ties with legitimate states with civilian governments committed to democracy and economic development is the best way for the United States to create islands of peace in different regions and construct durable multilateral arrangements, which serve common interests.

Such strategic patience could also rehabilitate the battered U.S. image around the globe. For instance, Brazil's case is very instructive: the rise of a democratic and progressive government, under President Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva, ushered in a new era of stability and economic progress. Today, Brazil is sharing the responsibilities of hemispheric leadership with the United States and contributing to regional stability and integration. The lesson is simple: reliance on responsible regional powers is America's best chance for a smooth transition to a truly multipolar global system. Egypt can and should be just such a partner.

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Article 6.

Foreign Affairs

How Fatah-Hamas Unity Threatens U.S. Funding

Douglas N. Greenburg and Derek D. Smith

June 20, 2011 -- The reconciliation agreement signed in April between Fatah and Hamas, which called for the creation of an interim Palestinian unity government followed by elections later this year, raises a number of difficult issues for the United States. Among these is whether Washington can lawfully continue to provide aid to the Palestinian Authority (PA) if it includes Hamas as an equal partner. After all, existing U.S. law designates Hamas as a terrorist organization and thus prevents the United States from aiding it in any way. Although the unity pact suffered a setback when a planned conference in Cairo on Tuesday to announce a new government was postponed, negotations are ongoing. Should the two sides eventually succeed in creating a unity government, continued U.S. funding for the PA could be illegal. Despite this, given the PA's dependence on U.S. aid, Washington may decide that financially sustaining the Palestinian leadership is vital to the peace process or other strategic interests. As a result, it may attempt to continue aiding elements of the PA that remain unaffiliated with Hamas. Yet absent specific congressional authorization, such a strategy will face significant legal obstacles.

U.S. law has long prohibited citizens from providing support to or doing business with Hamas, which has been on the Treasury Department's designated terrorist list since 1995 and the State Department's list of designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations since 1997. Under the U.S. criminal code, individuals cannot knowingly provide an FTO with “material support or resources,” which is broadly defined as any “property or service,” including money, training and advice, safe haven, transportation, and weapons, among other forms of assistance. Violation of this statute is punishable by up to 15 years in prison, or life in prison if the support results in the death of any person.

The Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) also enforces sanctions against Hamas and its affiliates, forbidding U.S. persons from engaging in any transactions with a designated terrorist, and further requiring that U.S. financial institutions block any transactions involving assets of FTOs. OFAC frequently imposes civil fines against violators of these sanctions, who may also suffer criminal penalties.

The U.S. government has enforced these laws by bringing several high-profile criminal prosecutions against various individuals and charitable organizations for raising funds for Hamas. In 2008, for example, a federal jury in Texas convicted five U.S. citizens on charges of providing material support to Hamas through their ostensibly charitable organization, the Holy Land Foundation, resulting in sentences of 15 to 65 years in prison. The Treasury Department has also targeted charities acting as fundraising fronts for Hamas, such as the Al-Aqsa Foundation, an international relief organization formerly based in Germany that Treasury designated a terrorist entity in 2003, aiming to put them out of business by freezing their bank accounts.

Current U.S. law, then, clearly forbids and severely punishes a wide range of assistance to Hamas. But what if Hamas takes a leading role in another organization not designated as an FTO -- specifically, the PA? This question arose in 2006, when Hamas members defeated Fatah in that year’s Palestinian elections. Hamas’ presence in the PA posed a significant challenge to U.S. interests in the Palestinian territories. Even so, the PA remained highly dependent on U.S. aid, receiving more than $400 million per year from Washington, and it was unclear whether the PA and its president, Fatah leader Mahmoud Abbas, could survive without it.

As a result, the U.S. Congress responded to Hamas' 2006 electoral victory by passing the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act (PATA), which conditioned assistance to the PA on a presidential certification that Hamas did not effectively control any "ministry, agency, or instrumentality" of the PA and made "demonstrable progress" toward five benchmarks related to transparency, democratization, and antiterrorism. PATA provided a national security waiver that allowed the White House to continue funding various entities in the PA presidential office and judiciary branch, so long as Hamas did not control the recipient. It also permitted funding to nongovernmental organizations that provide aid to the West Bank and Gaza relating to humanitarian needs and democracy promotion.

Ultimately, the dilemma over funding the PA resolved itself in 2007, when Hamas broke with Fatah and the PA and took control of Gaza. This separation freed OFAC to allow all transactions with the Fatah-controlled PA in the West Bank. But should Hamas rejoin the PA as a result of the recent unity arrangement, there may be pressure on OFAC to take a tougher stance. Indeed, in recent appropriations bills, Congress has made assistance to a "power-sharing government" in Palestine contingent on compliance with PATA.

Congressional authorization to fund a Hamas-affiliated PA would likely overcome existing legal prohibitions. In the face of PATA, however, there is a substantial risk that providing aid without specific congressional authority would violate U.S. criminal laws. Although there are several arguments for exempting the PA from the U.S. laws against dealing with FTOs, none is particularly convincing. To begin with, it could be argued that although U.S. law prohibits individuals from assisting Hamas, the president's constitutional powers to conduct foreign affairs might exempt officials carrying out the government's international policy from criminal prosecution. The existing laws and regulations, however, make federal officials just as liable for providing aid to FTOs as any private citizen, and any contrary argument would rest, at best, on untested grounds. Additionally, it could be argued that because Hamas does not control the PA outright, aid to the PA is not the same as aid to Hamas. This may seem persuasive in some circumstances; for instance, if Hamas held only a small minority of the PA's parliamentary seats. But that is hardly the case with regard to the current reconciliation agreement, which places equal power in the hands of Fatah and Hamas to form an interim government and appoint various ministers through consensus. Moreover, according to OFAC's regulations, Hamas needs only an interest in PA transactions, rather than full control of the PA itself, to trigger sanctions against funding the PA. In fact, following Hamas' election success in 2006, OFAC determined that Hamas had "a property interest" in PA business; this may have some bearing on funding the new unity government. Much like the OFAC regulations, the U.S. criminal code does not clearly specify when an FTO's interest in an organization becomes so great that it is unlawful to provide that organization with "material support." Moreover, the serious penalties associated with violating these criminal laws demand caution when considering whether to aid an organization in which an FTO such as Hamas plays a significant role.

Another possible method for the United States to continue funding the PA is an exception in the criminal code for persons who provide "personnel," "training," or "expert advice or assistance" to an FTO with approval of the secretary of state and the attorney general. This exception could allow the United States to advise PA security and police forces, but it would not permit direct financial aid. Similarly, the United States could attempt to convince non-Hamas elements in the PA to use and disseminate U.S. funds without any knowledge or participation of Hamas. Yet such a plan may not withstand legal scrutiny. If non-Hamas PA officials failed to honor the agreement and Hamas gained access to U.S. funds, prosecutors might one day argue that the persons who made the donation knew that such a result was likely and disregarded the risk. Such "willful blindness" could serve as the basis of a criminal prosecution. Or, the whole government may turn out to be Hamas-affiliated, rendering any such distinction meaningless.

The Obama administration could also instruct OFAC to grant specific exemptions so that the United States could fund particular entities within the PA. OFAC followed this strategy in 2006, announcing at the time that "consistent with current foreign policy" it was "authorizing U.S. persons to engage in certain transactions in which the PA may have an interest." Mirroring some of the exceptions listed under PATA, OFAC exempted transactions with the Palestinian judiciary, non-Hamas members of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and various entities controlled by Abbas.

Although the United States sought to continue supporting non-Hamas elements of the PA in 2006, it is doubtful that OFAC could repeat the same tactic now, thanks to the relationship between Fatah and Hamas. In 2006, Hamas campaigned against Fatah and tensions between the two camps remained strong after the election. Armed conflict broke out the following year despite the creation of a de facto unity government, splintering the PA. Should the current reconciliation agreement come to fruition, however, it would create a joint power-sharing government. As a result, it may be more difficult for OFAC to justify special exemptions on the grounds that certain entities within the PA are insulated from Hamas; by all appearances, they will be intertwined.

Lastly, OFAC could simply delist Hamas or continue allowing aid to the PA under a “general license.” But this would not do away with the independent criminal ban on providing “material support” to an FTO. To remove Hamas from the criminal law banning FTO support, either the secretary of state or Congress would have to revoke the designation of Hamas as an FTO -- a highly unlikely scenario. Should the Obama administration want to continue funding a Hamas-affiliated PA to maintain U.S. influence or otherwise promote U.S. interests, current law gives him little leeway to do so. PATA places numerous restrictions on any aid to a Hamas-affiliated PA, and any attempt by the White House to continue funding the PA in spite of PATA risks violating criminal statutes. Short of removing Hamas as a designated terrorist organization and FTO, the safest way to proceed would be on the basis of legislative action that allows White House to support the PA even under a Fatah-Hamas coalition. Without it, the Obama administration’s legal options are limited. No matter how much it may want to continue aiding the PA, then, its continued support may well be illegal.

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Article 7.

TIME

Why the Muslim Brotherhood Are Egypt's Best Democrats

Bobby Ghosh

June 21, 2011 -- After the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003, many Western commentators were surprised by the ease with which Iraq's religious movements adapted to multiparty democracy. The Shi'ite groups, in particular, were quick to organize into political parties, set up grass-roots organizations across the country and form practical coalitions ahead of elections. Long assumed to be ideologically opposed to democracy, these groups showed they were in fact brilliantly adaptable. Their leaders, despite having little experience in kissing babies, campaigned like seasoned pros.

In contrast, Iraq's liberal parties were rank amateurs. Their leaders, despite having spent decades in exile in Western democracies (whereas most Islamist exiles were confined to places like Iran and Syria), seemed not to understand how democracy works: people like Iyad Allawi and Ahmed Chalabi had an air of entitlement, assuming that people would vote for them merely because they were modern, progressive and famous. They didn't bother to create a national party infrastructure, nor did they care to campaign. Instead, they held all-day salons in the manner of medieval monarchs giving audience to the elite.

Something very similar is unfolding in Egypt. Of all the political groups to have emerged since the fall of Hosni Mubarak — including the myriad youth movements, secular parties, leftists and remnants of the old National Democratic Party — the Muslim Brotherhood seem to have the best understanding of how democracy works. The Islamist group may have taken a backseat to the liberal youth movement that brought down the dictator, but it has wasted little time in preparing for the post-Mubarak era. Although the generals in charge of Egypt's transition have not yet announced a date for the parliamentary elections (which are expected in the fall), the Brotherhood is already campaigning vigorously, in Cairo and the countryside. The youth movement, on the other hand, seems unable to break out of protest mode. The gap between the two sides was exposed in a mid-March referendum on constitutional reforms. The Brotherhood mobilized a massive "yes" vote to ensure that any meaningful reforms would take place after the parliamentary elections. The liberals were split, unsure as to which scenario they feared more: a constitution written by a military-appointed panel before the elections, or one written by a Brotherhood-dominated parliament afterward. It was a rout: 77% voted yes.

The gap has not closed. Since the referendum, many liberals have sought to undermine the result by trying to force through reforms before the elections. Their great champion, former U.N. nuclear watchdog (and Nobel laureate) Mohamed ElBaradei, argues that the constitution can't wait for people's elected representatives. The youth leaders agree and are threatening to return to Tahrir Square if they don't get their way. They claim the referendum doesn't matter because the Brotherhood misled Egyptians by portraying it as a vote on religion. (The Islamists deny this, and some neutral observers say both sides played fast and loose with the facts.)

This carping makes the liberals look like sore losers, and far from democratic. Critics accuse them of trying to buy time: a postponement in the elections would give liberals more time to get their political house in order and hopefully catch up with the Brotherhood's organizational lead. Even Alaa al-Aswany, a novelist and strong Brotherhood critic, acknowledges that it ill behooves the liberals to attempt an end run around the referendum. "The people made a choice, and we have to respect it," he says.

The Brotherhood, meanwhile, is sitting pretty. It has offered to form a broad coalition with liberals and leftists in the elections, and promises that there will be no attempt to hijack the constitutional reform process afterward. "The new constitution has to be written by all Egyptians," says Essam Erian, a top Brotherhood leader. "No one group should have a louder voice than the others." This makes the Islamists look responsible and conciliatory, and is likely to play well with voters. (See more on the Brotherhood's election strategy in posts to come.)

In Iraq, it took the liberals years to catch up with the religious parties in organizational and campaigning skills. In the last election, Allawi finally cobbled together a coalition that won more seats than any other group, only to be outmaneuvered by postelection horse trading. If Egypt's liberals aren't careful, a similar fate awaits them.

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Remembering Lenny Bruce

August 3rd, 2016 marked the 50th anniversary of groundbreaking comedian Lenny Bruce’ s death from an overdose of morphine, while his New York obscenity conviction at Café Au Go Go was still on appeal. On that same day he received a foreclosure notice at his Los Angeles home.

But it wasn’ t a suicide. In the kitchen, a kettle of water was still boiling, and in his office, the electric typewriter was still humming. He had stopped typing in mid-word: “Conspiracy to interfere with the 4th Amendment const” ...constitutes what, I wondered.

Lenny was a subscriber to my satirical magazine, *The Realist,* and in 1959 we met for the first time at the funky Hotel America in Times Square. He was amazed that I got away with publishing those profane words for which other periodicals used asterisks or dashes. He had been using euphemisms like “frig” and asked, “Are you telling me this is legal to sell on the newsstands?”

I replied, “The Supreme Court's definition of obscenity is that it has to be material which appeals to your prurient interest.” He magically produced an unabridged dictionary from the suitcase on his bed, and looked up the word “pruient.” He closed the dictionary, clenching his jaw and nodding his head in affirmation of a new discovery. “So,” he observed, “it’s against the law to get you horny.”

When we were about to leave the room, he stood in the doorway. “Did you steal anything?” he asked furtively. I took my watch out of my pocket since I didn't like to wear it on my wrist, and without saying a word I placed it on the bureau. Lenny laughed one loud staccato “Ha” and kissed me on the forehead.

We developed a friendship integrated with stand-up comedy. In his act Lenny had broken through traditional stereotypical jokes about airplane food, nagging wives, Chinese drivers, annoying mothers-in-law. Instead he weaved his taboo-breaking targets--teachers' low salaries *versus* show-business celebs, religious leaders’ hypocrisy, cruel abortion laws, racial injustice, the double standard between illegal and prescription drugs--into stream-of-consciousness vignettes.

In each succeeding performance, he would sculpt and re-sculpt his concept into a theatrical context, experimenting from show to show like a verbal jazz musician. Audience laughter would sometimes turn into clapping for the creative process itself. “Please don't applaud,” he’d request. “It breaks my rhythm.”

Lenny was writing an autobiography--*How to Talk Dirty and Influence People*--which *Playboy* planned to serialize, then publish as a book, and they hired me as his editor. We met in Atlantic City, where he was taking Delaudid for lethargy, and he sent a telegram to a contact, with a phrase--DE LAWD IN DE SKY--as a code to send a doctor's prescription.

At a certain point he was acting paranoid and demanded that I take a lie-detector test, and I was paranoid enough to take him literally. I couldn't work with him if he didn't trust me. We got into an argument, and I left.

He sent a telegram that sounded like we were on the verge of divorce. “WHY CAN'T IT BE THE WAY IT USED TO BE?” he wrote. I agreed to try again, and in 1962 I flew to Chicago. Lenny was performing at the Gate of Horn, where he was asking the whole audience to take a lie-detector test.

Lenny was intrigued by the implications of an item in *The Realist,* an actual statement by Adolf Eichmann that he would have been “not only a scoundrel, but a despicable pig” if he hadn't carried out Hitler's orders. Lenny wrote a piece for *The Realist,* “Letter From a Soldier's Wife,” namely Mrs. Eichmann pleading for compassion to spare her husband's life.

Lenny had been reading a study of anti-Semitism by Jean-Paul Sartre. Now, on stage, giving credit to Thomas Merton's poem about the Holocaust, he requested that all the lights go off except one dim blue spot. Then he began speaking with a German accent:

> My name is Adolf Eichmann. And the Jews came every day to what they thought would be fun in the showers. People say I should have been hung. *Nein*. Do you recognize the whore in the middle of you–that you would have done the same if you were there yourselves? My defense: I was a soldier. I saw the end of a conscientious day's effort. I watched through the portholes. I saw every Jew burned and turned into soap.
>
> Do you people think yourselves better because you burned your enemies at long distance with missiles without ever seeing what you had done to them? Hiroshima *auf Wiedersehen*. [*German accent ends*.] If we would have lost the war, they would have strung Truman up by the balls, Jim. Are you kidding with that? Not what kid told kid told kid. They would just *schlep* out all those Japanese mutants. "Here they did; there they are." And Truman said they'd do it again. That's what they should have the same day as Remember Pearl Harbor. Play them in unison.

Lenny was arrested for obscenity that night. One of the items in the Chicago police report complained: "Then talking about the war he stated, 'If we would have lost the war, they would have strung Truman up by the balls.' " The cops also broke open Lenny's candy bars, looking for drugs. They checked the IDs of audience members, including George Carlin, who told the cops, "I don't believe in IDs." Then they arrested him for disorderly conduct, dragged him along by the seat of his pants and hoisted him into the police wagon.

“What are you doing here?” Lenny asked.

“I didn’t want to show them my ID.”

“You schmuck.”

Lenny was released on bail, but the head of the Vice Squad warned the Gate of Horn manager: “If this man ever uses a four-letter word in this club again, I'm going to pinch you and everyone in here. If he ever speaks against religion, I'm going to pinch you and everyone in here. Do you understand? You've had good people here. But he mocks the pope--and I'm speaking as a Catholic--I'm here to tell you your license is in danger. We're going to have someone here watching every show.”

And indeed, the Gate of Horn's liquor license was suspended. There were no previous allegations against the club, and the current charge involved neither violence nor drunken behavior. The only charge pressed by the city prosecutor was Lenny Bruce's allegedly obscene performance. Nobody’s prurience was aroused, but that made no difference. After all, there wasn’t any law against blasphemy.

“Chicago is so corrupt, it’s thrilling,” Lenny said.

Chicago had the largest membership in the Roman Catholic Church of any archdiocese in the country. Lenny's jury consisted entirely of Catholics. The judge was Catholic. The prosecutor and his assistant were

Catholic. On Ash Wednesday, the judge removed the spot of ash from his forehead and told the bailiff to instruct the others to do likewise. The sight of a judge, two prosecutors and twelve jurors, every one with a spot of ash on their foreheads, would have all the surrealistic flavor of a Lenny Bruce fantasy.

Since he often talked on stage about his environment, and since police cars and courtrooms had become his environment, the content of Lenny's performances began to revolve more and more around the inequities of the legal system. “In the Halls of Justice,” he declared, “the only justice is in the halls.” But he also said, “I love the law.” Instead of an unabridged dictionary, he now carried law books in his suitcase. His room was cluttered with tapes and transcripts and photostats and law journals and legal briefs.

Once he was teasing his ten-year-old daughter, Kitty, by pretending not to believe what she was telling him. “Daddy,” she said, “you'd believe me if it was on tape.”

Lenny's jazz jargon was gradually being replaced by legal jargon. He had become intimate not only with the statutes concerning obscenity and narcotics but also with courtroom procedure, and his knowledge would be woven into his performances. But as clubs became increasingly afraid to hire him, he devoted more and more time and energy to the law.

In less than two years, Lenny was arrested 15 times. Club owners were afraid to book him. He couldn’ t get a gig in six months. On a Christmas day, he was alone in his hotel room, and I brought him a $500 bill. With a large safety pin, he attached it to his denim jacket. When he finally got a booking in Monterey, he admitted, “I feel like it's taking me away from my work.”

Lenny lived way up in the hills. His house was protected by barbed wire and a concrete gate, except that it was always open. He had a wall-to-wall one-way mirror in his living room, but when the sun was shining you could see into the room instead of out. He was occasionally hassled by police on his own property. One evening in October 1963, we were talking while he was shaving, when four officers suddenly appeared, loud and obnoxious. He asked them to leave unless they had a search warrant.

One of the cops took out his gun. “Here's my search warrant,” he said. Then Lenny and the cops had a discussion about the law, such as the rules of evidence, and after half an hour they left. Lenny tried to take it all in stride, but the encounter was depressing, and he changed his mind about going out that night.

When everything was quiet, we went outside and stood at the edge of his unused swimming pool. Dead leaves floated in the water. Lenny cupped his hands to his mouth. "All right, you dogs," he called out. "Bark for the rich man!" --thereby setting off a chain reaction of barking dogs, a canine chorus echoing through Hollywood Hills.

We ordered some pizza, and he played some old tapes, ranging from a faith healer to patriotic World War II songs. "Good-bye, Mama, I'm off to Yokohama, the Land of Yama-Yama..."

Back at the Café Au Go Go arrest in New York, Lenny had told a fantasy tale about Eleanor Roosevelt, quoting her, "I've got the nicest tits that have ever been in this White House…" The top of the police complaint was "Eleanor Roosevelt and her display of tits." At the trial, Lenny acted as his own attorney. He had obtained the legislative history of an Albany statute, and he discovered that back in 1931 there was an amendment proposed, which excluded from arrest in an indecent performance: stagehands, spectators, musicians, and--here was the fulcrum of his defense--actors. The law had been misapplied to him. Despite opposition by the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, the amendment was finally signed into law by then-Governor Roosevelt, but to no avail.

"Ignoring the mandate of Franklin D. Roosevelt," Lenny observed, "is a great deal more offensive than saying Eleanor has lovely nay-nays."

On October 13, 1965 (Lenny's 40th birthday), instead of surrendering to the authorities in New York, he filed suit at the U.S. District Court in San Francisco to keep out of prison, and he got himself officially declared a pauper. Two months before his death in 1966, Lenny wrote to me: "I'm still working on the bust of the government of New York State." And he included his doodle of Christ nailed to a crucifix, with a speech balloon asking, "Where the hell is the ACLU?

After he died, at a séance, his mother brought his old faded denim jacket. That large safety pin was still attached to it. And at the funeral, his sound engineer friend dropped Lenny's microphone into his grave before the dirt was piled on. Lenny's problem had been that he wanted to talk on stage with the same freedom that he had in his living room. That problem doesn't happen to stand-up comedians any more.

As for me, I'm working on my long awaited (by me) first novel. It's about a contemporary Lenny Bruce-type satirist. Those scenes where my protagonist performs, I've developed onstage myself, although at times it felt like I was actually channeling Lenny, until the day that he said, "C'mon, Paul, you know you don't believe in that shit.” Well, this ended *that* wishful-thinking delusion.

I told my friend Avery Corman--author of *Oh, God* and *Kramer vs. Kramer*-- how I welcomed the challenge of writing fiction.

“But, you know,” I added, “it’s really hard to write. You have to make everything up.”

And he said, “Hey, listen, you’ve been making stuff up all your life.”

“Yeah, but that was journalism.”

The Last Word: Yikes!

When George Bush was elected president of the United States in 2000, it was due to the electoral college, even though his opponent, Al Gore, won the national popular vote.

Hillary Clinton was elected senator that year, and she announced that the first thing she would do was to get rid of the electoral college.

A few years later, as a columnist for the *New York Press*, I sent her a letter asking about the status of that promise. She didn't reply.

On November 8, 2016, a crooked businessman, liar extraordinaire, bragging pussy-grabber, make-America-white-again, anti-choice, anti-Semite, fake Christian, the rapist of a 13-year-old girl in 1994 at a pedophile party (she canceled a press conference one week before the election because of death threats if she filed a lawsuit), climate-change hoaxer, twitter addict, homophobic, apprentice politician, fucking fascist, and of course Vladimir Putin's "useful idiot," namely Donald Trump, who was elected as an insanely narcissistic dictator based on the electoral college (a rigged system), whereas his opponent, Hillary Clinton, won the national popular vote by almost three million individuals galore, to no avail.

Irony lives . . .

In 1994, Trump took a 13-year-old girl to a party with Jeffrey Epstein, a billionaire who was a notorious registered sex offender, and raped her that night in what was a "savage sexual attack," according to a lawsuit filed in June 2016 by "Jane Doe." The account was corroborated by a witness in the suit, who claimed to have watched as the child performed various sexual acts on Trump and Epstein even after the two were advised she was a minor.

"Immediately following this rape Defendant Trump threatened me that, were I ever to reveal any of the details of Defendant Trumpâ€™s sexual and physical abuse of me, my family and I would be physically harmed if not killed," Jane Doe wrote in the lawsuit, filed in New York.

The lawsuit was dropped in November 2016, just four days before the election, with Jane Doe's attorneys citing "numerous threats" against her.

The charges and allegations brought against Donald Trump for sexual crimes include:

1 Accusations filed in court against Trump

1.1 Ivana Trump (1989)

1.2 [redacted] (1992)

1.3 [redacted] (2007)

2 Recording controversy and second 2016 presidential debate

3 Public allegations in 2016 of unwanted physical contact

3.1 [redacted] (1980s)

3.2 [redacted] (1990s)

3.3 [redacted] (1997)

3.4 [redacted] (1997)

3.5 [redacted] (1998)

3.6 [redacted] (2003)

3.7 [redacted] (2005)

3.8 [redacted] (2005)

3.9 [redacted] (2006)

3.10 [redacted] (2006)

3.11 [redacted] (2010)

3.12 [redacted] (2013)

4 Allegations of pageant dressing room visits

4.1 Miss Teen USA contestants

4.2 [redacted] (2000)

4.3 [redacted] (2001)

4.4 Unnamed contestants (2001)

4.5 [redacted] (2006) ~ There are of course scores of cases that have been settled out of court that we can not have any clear public record of as they are constrained by non-disclosure agreements.

From: Kathy Ruemmler [[redacted]]
Sent: 6/19/2018 5:30:40 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Indicting a President Is Not Foreclosed: The Complex History - Lawfare

Importance: High

https://www.lawfareblog.com/indicting-president-not-foreclosed-complex-history

Indicting a President Is Not Foreclosed: The Complex History

Can a sitting president be indicted? Often, in answering this question, commentators point to Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) opinions answering in the contrary. To whatever extent the writer agrees or disagrees with the opinions' conclusion, the government's position on the matter is usually presented as a long-standing and clear "no."

The reality is more complicated. The United States has addressed this question six times in both internal memos and briefs filed in litigation. And a review of these documents shows that it is far from clear what criminal prosecution steps are (or should be) precluded—and that there is no "longstanding policy" against indictment of the president. Consider the 1973 OLC memo stating that a sitting president should not be indicted. Far from being authoritative, it was essentially repudiated within months by the Justice Department in the United States' filing in the Supreme Court in *United States v. Nixon*.

Likewise, the most recent opinion—an OLC memo written in 2000—includes brief statements that a sitting president should not be indicted even if all further proceedings are postponed. But far from being definitive, this is a matter that could be reconsidered by the department. Moreover, of course, OLC opinions are not binding on state prosecutors (though state charges could raise federalism questions as well). The complex history of criminal proceedings against presidents and vice presidents suggests that these issues are not foreclosed.

Perhaps the most important point that emerges from a review of all the opinions is this: nly once has the United States addressed the question of whether a president can be an unindicted co-conspirator. The conclusion was an unequivocal yes. Richard Nixon was so named in the Watergate indictment, and that inclusion was sustained by Judge John Sirica and defended by the United States in *United States v. Nixon*. (The Supreme Court did not resolve the question.) No department opinion or filing has ever contradicted that position. The fact that it is permissible to name a sitting president as unindicted co-conspirator, moreover, tends significantly to undermine the only argument against indicting a sitting president.

(I should note that the U.S. Attorney's manual cautions against naming persons as unindicted co-conspirators "[i]n the absence of some significant justification." Here, of course, the "significant justification" would exist if a sitting president is the only individual in the country who is immune from indictment. Thus, for that individual alone, the usual better course of indictment would not be available.)

Here I want to review each of the half-dozen times that the executive branch has addressed the question of whether a president can be prosecuted, indicted or included as an unindicted co-conspirator. The opinions that conclude that a president cannot be indicted deal mainly with the question of whether a president can be put on trial. While the discussions of the option of indicting but postponing trial are more than a mere afterthought, that option was not the focus of the opinions and received scant analysis.

The relevant briefs and memoranda are:

1. The Sept. 24, 1973, OLC Dixon memo
2. The Oct. 5, 1973, brief for the United States in *In re Agnew*
3. The Feb. 12, 1974, memorandum to Independent Counsel Leon Jaworski
4. The June 21, 1974, reply brief for the United States in *U.S. v. Nixon*
5. The May 13, 1998, memorandum to Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr
6. The Oct. 16, 2000, OLC memorandum

These documents are worth review not only for their value as precedent but also for the extensive argumentation they contain on the pertinent issues.

1. The Sept. 24, 1973, OLC Dixon Memo. This memo, signed by the head of the Office of Legal Counsel, Robert Dixon, is a procedural anomaly: It was not addressed to any official and may not have been made public at the time. It was not mentioned in the submission by the solicitor general two weeks later in the *In re Agnew* case.

Dixon noted that there was no express provision of the Constitution conferring any immunity upon the president. The "proper approach" he wrote, "is to find the proper balance between the normal functions of the courts and the special responsibilities … of the Presidency." He concluded that "criminal proceedings against a President in office should not go beyond a point where they could result in so serious a physical interference with the President's performance of his official duties that it would amount to an incapacitation." Thus, "a necessity to defend a criminal trial and to attend court … would interfere with the President's unique official duties."

Finally, Dixon addressed "a possibility not yet mentioned": that a sitting president could be indicted but further proceedings could be deferred until he was no longer in office. Unlike placing a president on trial, this would not result in a "physical interference" with the president's duties. Nevertheless, the memo concludes that this step should not be taken because of the reputational damage to the president: "The spectacle of an indicted President still trying to serve as Chief Executive boggles the imagination."

Of particular interest is the memo's consideration of whether criminal proceedings against a vice president are precluded. OLC found this to be a difficult question before concluding that a grand jury could indict the vice president. The memo notes that Vice President Spiro Agnew was said to be part of a conspiracy and that it would be difficult to have a proper indictment of co-conspirators without including the vice president (a point also true of a conspiracy involving a president). Moreover,

> Another circumstance counselling prompt presentation of evidence to the grand jury is that the statute of limitations is about to bar prosecution of the alleged offenders with respect to some or all of the offenses. The problem presented by the statute of limitations would be avoided by an indictment within the statutorily specified period.

(The issue of statute of limitations arises as well in cases involving a president.)

The Dixon memo concludes that "[a]fter indictment, the question of whether the Government should … delay prosecution until the expiration of the Vice President's duties involves questions of trial strategy" beyond OLC's expertise.

The conclusion that the sitting president should not be indicted was not necessarily a categorical constitutional-judgment conclusion but seems, rather, to be a balance of policy considerations. That, it appears, is how it was read by the office of Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski—as I will describe below.

2. The Oct. 5, 1973, Brief for the United States in *In re Agnew*. Lawyers for Vice President Spiro T. Agnew argued that if a president could not be indicted while in office, that same immunity should apply to a serving vice president. The vice president should have the same immunity as the president, they wrote, because he "must maintain himself in a state of constant preparation to replace the president." And as the official with responsibility for initiating the 25th Amendment removal process, he must "continuously … monitor the ability of the President" to discharge his duties. These responsibilities, they argued, were incompatible with being a defendant in a criminal case. Agnew's civil action, moreover, sought to enjoin the grand jury from even "conducting any investigation" into the allegations against Agnew as well as precluding "issuing any indictment."

The United States, in a response filed in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia by Solicitor General Robert Bork, opposed any immunity from criminal process for a vice president. The solicitor general did inform the court, however, that if the grand jury were to return an indictment, the Department of Justice "will hold the proceedings in abeyance for a reasonable time, if the Vice President consents to a delay, in order to offer the House of Representatives an opportunity to consider the desirability of impeachment proceedings." What was critical, according to Bork, was this: "The issuance of an indictment … would in the meantime toll the statute of limitations and preserve the matter for subsequent judicial resolution." The memorandum concluded that while the demands of the presidency preclude subjecting the chief executive to criminal process, no such importance attaches to the office of the vice president.

Because Agnew pleaded no contest to an indictment in a negotiated agreement, there was no resolution of his claim of immunity from indictment. Although the charges had been serious (Agnew was said to have accepted containers of cash in the White House), he was allowed to plead to a single count and serve no prison time, essentially in exchange for his resignation from the vice presidency—an outcome that may not have been possible had Agnew not been susceptible to indictment.

3. The Feb. 12, 1974, Memorandum to Independent Counsel Leon Jaworski. The attorneys in the Office of Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski concluded that there was no legal bar to indicting a sitting president and that the office should recommend either that the grand jury indict President Nixon or that criminal charges against him be incorporated into a formal grand jury presentment. Jaworski concluded that the best course, with impeachment proceedings in the offing, was to include Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator in the indictment of the other Watergate defendants.

The memo notes at the outset that

> As we understand it, the conclusions regarding indictment of an incumbent President reached by the Department of Justice, the U.S. Attorney's office, and this office, are all consistent: there is nothing in the language or legislative history of the Constitution that bars indictment of a sitting president, but there are a number of 'policy' factors that weigh heavily against it.

The memo finds those policy considerations offset by competing considerations.

> For us or the grand jury to shirk from an appropriate expression of our honest assessment of the evidence of the President's guilt would not only be a departure from our responsibilities but a dangerous precedent damaging to the rule of law.

In deciding whether to indict a sitting president, they asserted, any considerations of a political nature should be left to Congress, which can decide if it wishes to immunize a president from prosecution. The special prosecutor's office did conclude, however, that the quantum of proof required to support an indictment of a sitting president should be quite high: "the evidence of the President's guilt should be direct, clear, and compelling and … admit of no misinterpretation."

Some of Jaworski's team thought that President Nixon should be indicted. Others favored proceeding by a "presentment," which would set out "in detail the most important evidence and the Grand Jury's conclusion that the President has violated certain criminal statutes and would have been indicted were he not President." The office concluded that "there appears to be no question of the propriety or legality of such a course…." The memo noted that having the grand jury actually name the specific indictable crimes for which there was clear evidence of guilt was important: "This fundamental conclusion [of criminal guilt] should not be allowed to be lost in a recitation of facts or sources of evidence that omits the basic judgment involved or leaves it open to public (and Congressional) speculation and debate."

The memo also noted that the president could be named an unindicted co-conspirator in the indictment of the other conspirators, the course ultimately chosen by Jaworski.

4. The June 21, 1974, Reply Brief for the United States in *US v. Nixon.* The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia refused Nixon's motion to expunge his inclusion as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate indictment. Nixon asked the Supreme Court to reverse that decision. His lawyers argued that since a sitting president could not be indicted, neither should he be implicated as an unindicted co-conspirator.

In this filing on behalf of the United States, Jaworski rejected Nixon's premise that a president could not be indicted, stating that "It is an open and substantial question whether an incumbent President is subject to indictment." The brief argues for indictability before concluding that it is unnecessary to decide that question in order to resolve whether to permit his inclusion as an unindicted co-conspirator.

(Despite the filing's origin in Jaworski's office, it would be a mistake to argue that this filing was not in some sense the position of the Department of Justice. Leon Jaworski and his attorneys were officers of the Department of Justice assigned by the attorney general the responsibility for advancing the legal positions of the United States, including in representations to the U.S. Supreme Court.)

The Jaworski filing notes how critical it is to identify the president as one of the criminal accused: "the identification of each co-conspirator — regardless of station — is a prerequisite to making his declarations in furtherance of the conspiracy admissible against the other conspirators."

Although the brief concludes that "it is by no means clear that a President is immune from indictment" during his term, the special prosecutor chose not to indict the sitting president on the basis of "practical arguments." Those arguments, however,

> cannot fairly be stretched to confer immunity on the President from being identified as an *unindicted* co-conspirator, when it is necessary to do so in connection with criminal proceedings against persons unquestionably liable to indictment.

Naming the president as an unindicted co-conspirator was necessary for the grand jury to return a "true bill," Jaworski argued, and "required here to outline the full range of the alleged conspiracy." There exists, moreover, "a legitimate public purpose in reporting the fact that serious criminal charges against a government official have been made."

> The mere fact that an official has a personal immunity from prosecution does not bar the prosecution from alleging and proving his complicity as part of a case against persons who have no such immunity.

It would not be fair "to the defendants … to blunt the sweep of the evidence artificially by excluding one person, however prominent and important, while identifying all others." The Jaworski filing acknowledged that naming an incumbent president as an unindicted criminal co-conspirator may cause the public anguish of a cloud over the presidency. But "in the public marketplace of ideas" there is little reason to fear that malicious charges against a president "will receive credit they do not deserve."

Notably, the United States made no mention of the OLC Dixon memo in its filing in the Supreme Court other than by implication: The filing says that the Department of Justice agrees that the Constitution does not bar indictment of a president, perhaps reading the Dixon OLC memo as merely a statement of policy. What is striking is that the 2000 OLC memo treats the 1973 Dixon memo as an important precedent but not the more substantial, more careful subsequent filing in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court did not answer Nixon's request to expunge his inclusion as an unindicted co-conspirator. Finding it unnecessary to answer that question in order to rule against the president on the subpoena of the nine tapes, the court dismissed Nixon's companion cert petition as improvidently granted. Nixon's resignation and pardon rendered the remaining questions moot.

5. The May 13, 1998, Memorandum to Independent Counsel Starr. This memorandum was written by professor Ronald Rotunda in response to an inquiry from Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr. Rotunda concluded that

> In the circumstances of this case, President Clinton is subject to indictment and criminal prosecution, although it may be the case that he could not be imprisoned … until after he leaves that office.

The Rotunda memo is the least persuasive of the opinions in question. First, its status is unclear. It says that the question was posed by Starr, but it does not note whether Rotunda, who may have been a paid consultant, had any official governmental role. There is no indication that the opinion underwent any review by other officials.

The opinion seems to claim too much, in my view, by suggesting that a president could be not only indicted but actually put on trial while serving. (Rotunda does not even rule out imprisoning a president.) There is an informal and partisan flavor to the memo that makes it less serious than the other arguments put forth by the department.

Rotunda argues that the then-existing Independent Counsel Act contemplated that a president could be investigated and questioned, so therefore it must follow that he can be indicted. This is the obverse of the current argument made by some that since a president can't be indicted, he can't be questioned. Both positions are based on category mistake. No one has ever seriously suggested that a president can never be indicted. The only debate is whether any indictment of a president must be *postponed* until he is no longer in office. Since any president can indisputably be indicted when no longer in office, there is no permanent immunity that would obviate questioning of a president.

6. The 2000 OLC Memorandum. This opinion of the Office of Legal Counsel, signed by Assistant Attorney General Randolph Moss, is a thorough and thoughtful analysis of whether a president can be indicted and prosecuted while serving in office. It appears to have originally been drafted during the time of the Starr investigation of President Bill Clinton. The case against putting a president on trial is fully convincing to me. What is not so clear, however, is whether there is sound basis for withholding an indictment of a president even if any trial proceedings must await the end of his term. Like the Dixon memo, the 2000 opinion set out several obstacles to trying a president. None of those reasons, save one, applies to naming a president in an indictment.

The 2000 opinion gives so little thought to the possibility of indicting-and-postponing that it gives only one reason why such a course should be precluded: the idea that including the president in an indictment would cast a "cloud" over the presidency. The notion that reputational harm alone should preclude a normal part of the system of justice seems incompatible with the Supreme Court's decision in *Clinton v. Jones,* in which the court set such a high bar for any presidential immunity from the normal process of litigation that not a single justice found that actually undergoing a civil trial was precluded.

It is hard to square mere reputational harm as a basis for precluding indictment when the government seems to have established that a president can be listed as an unindicted co-conspirator. The reputational difference between being named as an unindicted co-conspirator in a criminal indictment and being listed as one of those indicted seems relatively small. The essential difference: naming one as indicted prevents the statute of limitations from expiring. Why, for a small reputational difference, would one choose to make being in the White House a basis for permanently precluding (by operation of the statute of limitations) an otherwise warranted criminal prosecution?

One aspect of the 2000 memo is worth noting. It appears to have been drafted with the case against President Clinton in mind. That was essentially a one-defendant matter. Thus, the opinion does not grapple with the significant obstacles to trying a multi-defendant criminal conspiracy while excluding from the charging document any reference to one of the conspirators—and perhaps a key conspirator.

For an extended argument that the terms of Robert Mueller's appointment and practice of the Office of Legal Counsel do not require him to conform to the 2000 OLC position opinion rejecting the option of indicting and postponing, see Andrew Crespo's analysis. In addition to Crespo's analysis, I would add that the 2000 memo gives only scant attention to the possible course I believe deserves most consideration when a sitting president has been found to have committed a crime: indict-and-postpone. While I would not call the few mentions of that possibility "mere dicta," I believe the scant discussion of the point should not preclude an independent judgment by subsequent officials. The notion that such a course would cause reputational harm—though it would not physically interfere with the president's attention to his duties—seems to be a point of policy, not constitutional law. For a helpful analysis of this question, see Bob Bauer's posting.

In any event, OLC has never suggested that a president cannot be an unindicted co-conspirator.

Conclusions

The history of positions taken by the executive branch of the United States on the indictment of a sitting president is more varied and complex than is generally assumed. For that reason, whether or not a president can be indicted or named as an unindicted co-conspirator should not be considered a settled question.

I am convinced that putting a president on trial would be inconsistent with the Article II responsibilities of the modern presidency. Others—Larry Tribe included—are less certain and also point to the 25th Amendment, arguing that if being on trial or incarcerated precluded a president from being able to perform his duties, the 25th Amendment provides a theoretical if impractical avenue for the vice president to take over in successive 21-day increments during that time. I see the point, but I believe that approach could too easily set aside the determination of the electorate. People vote for a president, not a vice president. It would be no small matter, for example, to have had Sarah Palin step in for John McCain.

If a guilty president is not to be indicted, he or she should in any event be included in the charging instrument as an unindicted co-conspirator, an option that has been expressly defended by the United States before the Supreme Court. And once it has been established that a president can be an unindicted co-conspirator, the case for categorically precluding indictment of a president is significantly weakened.

I have argued previously that there should be no categorical bar to the indictment of a sitting president. *Clinton v. Jones* establishes that a president has a substantial burden of showing that normal processes of litigation are incompatible with his duties—and while that showing can be made for an actual criminal trial, it is difficult to make such a showing for naming a president in a grand jury indictment as long as trial proceedings are postponed until a president is no longer in office.

What, then, is the argument against indictment? Perhaps it casts a greater cloud. On the other hand, the most important reason for issuing an indictment, rather than merely naming the president as unindicted co-conspirator, is to prevent the statute of limitations from expiring. This, in my view, is an important consideration. Indeed, a president might seek reelection just to make sure the limitations period runs on all his or her crimes while he or she remains in office.

But concluding that a president *can* be indicted does not mean that he or she *should* be indicted, even if that would be called for by the normal operation of the criminal process. Awaiting action by the House of Representatives may in some circumstances be the prudent course—though one might question whether it is appropriate to weigh that institutional factor variously depending on how realistic it is that a particular House and Senate would take their responsibilities seriously.

Some offenses might be seen as better suited for initial consideration by Congress in the impeachment process. Whether an exercise of executive authority—such as discharging an official or pardoning someone for an allegedly corrupt reason—should be grounds for sanction might be seen as requiring an essential political judgment, perhaps best suited for elected officials to make. On the other hand, the regular processes of the federal criminal system might be a better forum for an alleged complex multi-defendant financial conspiracy including money laundering, bank fraud, tax evasion, etc. In short, context matters for a special counsel or other prosecutor considering how best to proceed.

There is good reason to have the judiciary decide the question of whether an indictment of a sitting president is categorically barred. This is especially the case now that the decision process would in significant part be based upon an interpretation of a Supreme Court decision, *Clinton v. Jones.* If a prosecutor included the president in an indictment, the president would no doubt move to have his or her name stricken. The first question a judge should ask is, *"If I strike the president from the indictment, will he or she agree to waive any defense of the statute of limitations that may expire while he or she is in office?"* If the president refuses to waive the statute of limitations, that itself would be a good reason for permitting the indictment, while postponing any further proceedings.

It is impossible to predict whether a prosecutor would ask the attorney general for authorization to indict—or to make the president an unindicted co-conspirator—without knowing the degree and nature of any criminality that might be uncovered, and how including or not including the president in an indictment would affect the trial of other conspirators. But the possibility of including the president in an indictment is not categorically foreclosed.

From: Fabrice Aidan [redacted]
Sent: 7/11/2013 2:44:31 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

Importance: High

You'll find it interesting. Warm regards

Envoyé de mon iPhone

Début du message transféré :

Expéditeur: GBIU-MideastNews <GBIU-MideastNews@dentons.com>
Date: 11 juillet 2013 16:43:09 UTC+02:00
Destinataire: "Cheves, Belle" [redacted]>, "Gray, Alex" <[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]>, "Mahle, Melissa B." <[redacted]>, "Seche, Stephen A." <[redacted]"Dixon, Timothy" <[redacted]>
Objet: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

Atlantic Council

Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

By Frederic C. Hof
July 11, 2013

A friendly discussion about Syria with a former US State Department colleague gave rise to a point I will not soon forget. "Fred, there's no time for policy deliberations about Syria or anyplace else. We live in the era of Blackberry diplomacy. We react and we improvise as best we can."

Anyone under the age of thirty reading the above would probably think, "Why in the world is the US government using the Blackberry?" Those who turned thirty long before the end of the last century—even those of us who try seriously not to be technological Luddites—wonder sometimes if the communications revolution and the 24/7 news cycle it has spawned will end up doing more harm than good to the progress of civilization and well-being of the republic.

Those who have had the privilege and burden of working in the US national security establishment are well-acquainted with how hard it is to find time to think. This was true long before the advent of email and other forms of electronic communication. Although there may have been times when officials could contemplate great matters of state at something approaching leisure, those days have been long gone. Even offices created expressly to explore policy options stretching beyond a twenty minute horizon—the State Department's Policy Planning Staff comes to mind—routinely get pulled into the maelstrom of daily struggles to manage breaking developments through some combination of strategic messaging and diplomatic demarches. Email makes it easy for officials up-and-down the chain to plunge into the fray, battling to mold language for use at a daily briefing; language that all-too-often mystifies or misleads foreign listeners who hang on words from the podium as if they are meant to convey the results of deep, deliberative thought on the part of the world's only superpower. Yet email neither created the problem nor prevents its solution.

The problem is the failure of government, certainly in the context of Syria and likely in other foreign policy contexts as well, to wrap the daily news cycle food fight in an insulated casing of objectives and strategy clearly understandable to those charged with planning and executing foreign or national security policy. There may be some who believe that objectives and strategy are just so 20th century; so Brent Scowcroft-like and so pre-Twitter. There may be some who actually handle affairs of state in ways they would not dream of applying to their personal financial portfolios. Perhaps resistance to structured, deliberative processes producing objectives and accompanying strategies is a function of fewer and fewer people in the national security establishment ever having availed themselves of military service; an experience where matters of this nature become, through training and education, as natural as breathing. Perhaps in the specific case of Syria there has been a temptation to avoid the hard choices such a process would serve up in the hope that the regime of Bashar al-Assad would just go away, thereby making hard choices someone else's problem.

The arrival of a new assistant to the president for national security affairs is an ideal opportunity to restore best practices to the national security apparatus. To her credit, Susan Rice appears to be reaching out with this very much in mind. If changes are made that better serve the president by forcing people to think through policy options in the context of objectives and strategies, those changes should not reflect poorly on the stewardship of her predecessor. The president gets precisely the national security system he mandates and deserves. He is, as JFK noted in the immediate wake of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, "the responsible officer of government."

In the end it is the president, and not the Blackberry or some other device, who will drive the direction and processes of foreign policy and diplomacy. It is up to him to tell his national security advisor that he wants the interagency to stop tweeting and start thinking; to tell him how he should be evaluating US national security objectives with respect to Syria (for example) and strategy options aimed at accomplishing them. This kind of deliberative process will not require people to wear powdered wigs and inscribe talking points on parchment with quill pens. It will not even oblige them to disconnect electronically.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle to an orderly national security process that is deliberative is the sheer brainpower of the people sitting atop the bureaucratic pyramid. Barack Obama and Susan Rice are among the very brightest people to serve in the US government. They may think they can figure Syria out themselves, within a small circle of trusted political advisers. They may think they can handle Syria without reaching beyond their own national security staff, without probing deeply into the Departments of State, Defense, the intelligence community, and elsewhere where additional expertise resides. They will outsmart themselves if that is the approach they choose.
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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/11/2013 3:22:21 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Fabrice Aidan**
Date: Thursday, July 11, 2013
Subject: Fwd: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy
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From: paul krassner [[redacted]]
Sent: 2/7/2017 7:12:15 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd:

Importance: High

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>>
>> From: James Drougas <[redacted]
>>
>> Hi Paul. I've been spending lots of time with Irwin Corey and his family past two weeks especially. He was in hospital until the last week and then He died a few hours ago peacefully at home in bed. Last night he told me Trump will be assassinated soon.  He was eager to learn the news each day. I asked him if he would join the anti Trump rallies when he gains strength. Doctors thought he might live many months. Alas  he was laughing and smiling till the end and frowning about Trump.
>> Warm and loving regards
>>
>> Jim Drougas
>> [redacted]
>>
>> My friend Alana, a young comedian, was here with him most nights. Irwin used to say he will live to 147. Alana explained that 102 is 147 in comedian years.
>>
>>
>
>
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 9/9/2014 11:53:57 AM
To: Peter Thiel [[redacted]
Subject: Re:

13 th afternoon you and I . then bill burns . the diplmats diplomat. eveing dinner with woody all casual. . if you choose we can bring in kathy ruemmler. former obama counsel for 5 years. and or sen Bob kerrey, former senate intelligneee

On Mon, Sep 8, 2014 at 10:56 PM, Peter Thiel <[redacted]> wrote:

> Would be cool to meet him sometime, but don't go out of the way to make this happen...
>
> Are we planning something the weekend of the 13th-14th?
>
> On Sep 8, 2014, at 5:40 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com<mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com>> wrote:
>
> any interest in woody allen
>
> --
> please note
> The information contained in this communication is
> confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
> constitute inside information, and is intended only for
> the use of the addressee. It is the property of
> JEE
> Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
> communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
> and may be unlawful. If you have received this
> communication in error, please notify us immediately by
> return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com<mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com>, and
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communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/7/2017 7:18:38 PM
To: paul krassner [redacted]
Subject: Re:

what would you do in order to consolidate the movement . . music . icons. personalites. etc? did you get your first installment. ? did you send the poster

On Tue, Feb 7, 2017 at 3:12 PM, paul krassner <[redacted]> wrote:

> \>>
> \>> From: James Drougas <[redacted]>
> \>>
> \>> Hi Paul. I've been spending lots of time with Irwin Corey and his family past two weeks especially. He was in hospital until the last week and then He died a few hours ago peacefully at home in bed. Last night he told me Trump will be assassinated soon. He was eager to learn the news each day. I asked him if he would join the anti Trump rallies when he gains strength. Doctors thought he might live many months. Alas he was laughing and smiling till the end and frowning about Trump.
> \>> Warm and loving regards
> \>>
> \>> Jim Drougas
> \>>[redacted]
> \>>
> \>> My friend Alana, a young comedian, was here with him most nights. Irwin used to say he will live to 147. Alana explained that 102 is 147 in comedian years.
> \>>
> \>>
> \>
> \>

--
please note
The information contained in this communication is
confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
constitute inside information, and is intended only for
the use of the addressee. It is the property of
JEE
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: Larry Visoski [redacted]
Sent: 9/5/2016 7:10:16 PM
To: Je vacation [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Rich Kahn [redacted]
Subject: Flight time OMAA - BQK
Attachments: IMG_0068.PNG; Untitled attachment 393133.txt; IMG_0069.PNG; Untitled attachment 393136.txt

Jeffrey
Eric completed Trump's interior on his 757 at Stambaugh, they have worked together in the past.
Estimated cost Abu Dhabi to Stambaugh $37,038.00

Abu Dhabi - Shannon Ireland 7+45min (-23kt Headwind)
Shannon - Jacksonville (to clear Customs) 7+46min (-23kt headwind)
Jacksonville to Brunswick GA +12min
Total Flight time 15+42min

Cost
BBJ burns an average of 5,200Lbs per hour = 776 gallons per hour

Abu Dhabi current fuel price $1.74 per gallon.
Shannon Current fuel price. $1.94 per gallon.
Jacksonville Fuel, $3.50 per gallon.

Abu Dhabi - Shannon, 7.7 hours = 5,975 gallons = $10,396.50 Fuel
Shannon -Jacksonville 7.7 hours = 5975 gallons = $11,591.50 Fuel
Jacksonville-Brunswick .2 hours= 300 gallons= $ 1,050.00 Fuel
Handling charge in Shannon estimate $ 3,500.00
Navigational charges, overflight permits, landing
Fee Shannon Ireland. $10,000.00 est.
Landing fee Jacksonville. $ 500.00

____

Estimated total $ 37,038.00

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 5/13/2015 11:27:12 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Library
Attachments: IMG_1049.JPG; IMG_1058.JPG; IMG_1055.JPG; IMG_1049.JPG

Importance: High

From: Brandon Thompson <[redacted]
Date: Wednesday, May 13, 2015 at 7:15 PM
To: Richard Kahn <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Library

Dear Richard,

For the first time in my life, I am facing the real prospect of dismissal from the project.
This is due mainly to misunderstanding.
Mr. Epstein came today and told me very bluntly that he is annoyed with me not doing the job. I prepared one column for him and the several feet of decorative molding, but this was a miss. He told me it looks like it was done yesterday.
This is the very first time that I work like this. I did several projects for French customers in Greenwich, Conn., but always I produced the sample and than work
according to the samples. The paneling I work on were early 19 c. so even the oak looked different. Even at the White House, when I was restoring Blue Room, which you can look at it on my Website, www.brandonthompsonrestoration.com I produced design, made samples and did the project. President Clinton told me this is the most beautiful Room, he was clearly impressed.
This time I know exactly what Mr. Epstein wants. However it might be too late. He will come tomorrow to check.
Today I did a lot of prep work for tomorrow. I will go tonight to work on some of the columns but the night light is deceiving and I may miss the last chance he gave me.
So far I was rated the best finisher, until now I guess.
Warm regards
Brandon

On Tue, May 12, 2015 at 9:42 PM, Brandon Thompson [redacted] wrote:

> Dear Richard,
> the samples are ready for approval. I finished one column about 95%, as I want to put some accents on it but after I discuss it with Mr. Epstein. I also finished upper section above the blackboard. I also finished some other columns, not completely, because I need the approval. My feeling is that someone was already working in the Library, as I can see a lot of waxing done. I finished one column so it will correspond with the rest of the décor. You can not remove the whitish color completely. There are some "bald" columns, which in my opinion do not sort of belong to the Library any more as they are completely brown. Everything has to have at least an shadow of what is around. The top carving, moldings columns and other elements in the Library, have to "bond" together. The upper small carvings, have to be finished individually, as a play between the whitish color and natural brown color of oak wood. I sort of model the shapes of the crabs, snails and other creatures and they come alive. I think I did good work but Mr. Epstein needs to approve it so I can go ahead and finish the project.
> Kindly,
> Brandon
>
> On Mon, May 11, 2015 at 6:45 PM, Brandon Thompson <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Dear Richard,
>> I prepared some samples for Mr. Epstein for today. I did not waist time as there is a lot of work in the Library. However, I need his approval to continue. Tonight I will go back and start installation of the doors and panels.
>> Brandon

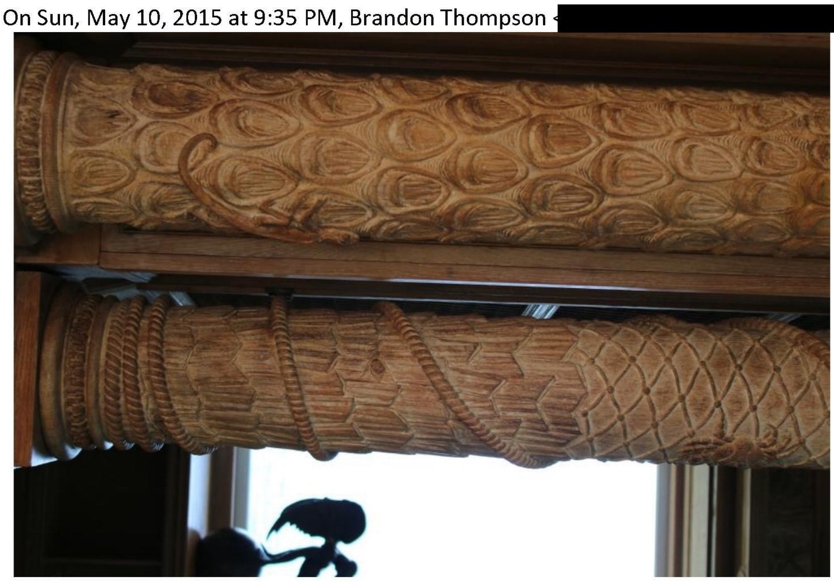
On Sun, May 10, 2015 at 9:48 PM, Brandon Thompson [redacted]> wrote:

Dear Richard,

I am not sure whether the photos depict the column right. I looked at it and does not do the justice to what you have on the column. I hope you can see the details like even changing the white areas into rubbed ones and emphasising crabs. Making the rope "wet" looking. contrasting the rubbed areas with white, and looking at the entire column as a whole. All the columns are looking different, as somebody would work previously on them, and some of them are over-rubbed, some of them are not rubbed at all. The upper part also, I prepared a sample, so Mr. Epstein can see the difference.

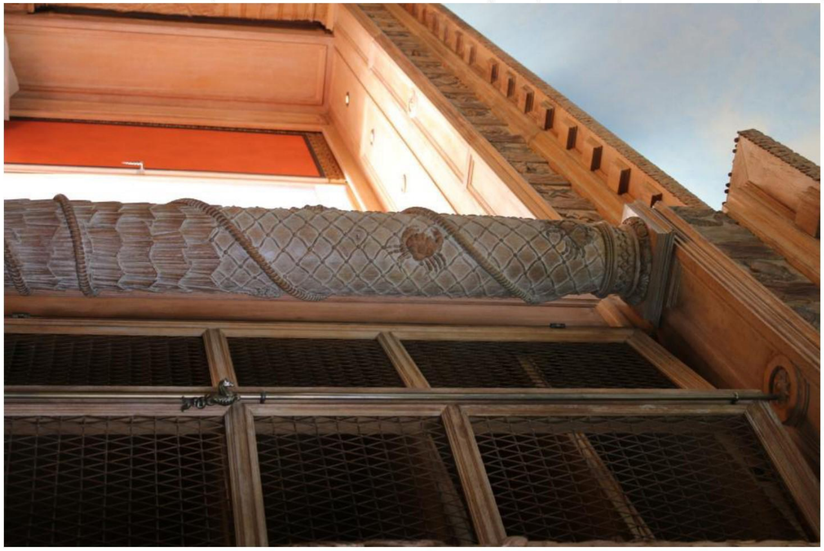
Brandon

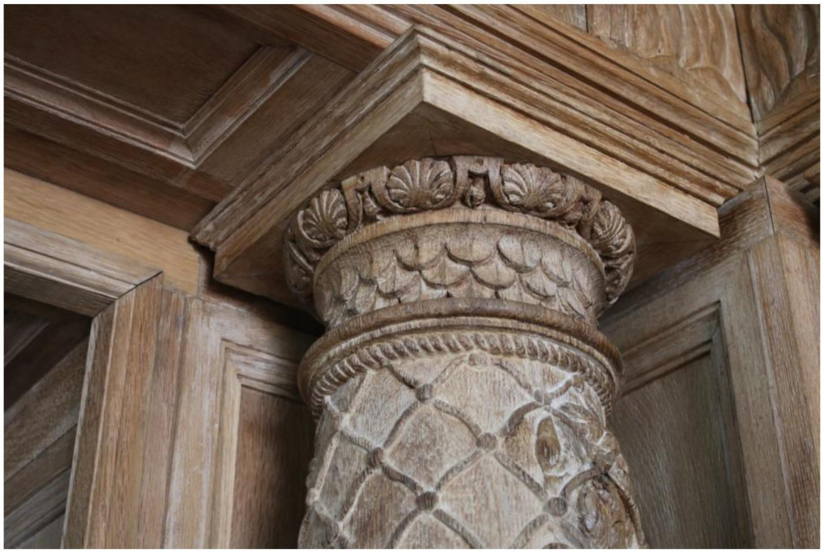
On Sun, May 10, 2015 at 9:35 PM, Brandon Thompson <[redacted]> wrote:



Dear Richard,

It is after 9:20 pm and I tried to text Ann, but she did not answer. My suspicion is, she is already asleep. I will try to send you photos if I can.





On Sun, May 10, 2015 at 7:49 PM, Richard Kahn <[redacted]> wrote:

> Please send photos. Thank you
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> > On May 10, 2015, at 6:07 PM, Brandon Thompson <[redacted]> wrote:
> >
> > Dear Richard,
> >
> > We were expecting Mr. Epstein to come today and I was preparing presentation for him. Ann, the manager here called me that there was change in schedule and Mr. Epstein is expected to come tomorrow early afternoon.
> > For this presentation, I finished one column for him.
> > This is not a regular work that I have done on it. Actually, I balanced the "whites" and "darker" rubbed off elements. Further, I balanced shiny areas and matt.
> > After doing this, I worked on differentiating darker areas, making them lighter and darker, depending on the location. I did the same with "whites". Then I emphasized certain elements even more, like rope, net, crabs. This work requires

> > > > more than finisher to do it. I have high hopes, than this time Mr. Epstein will like the work. If he accepts finishing this way, I will finish it may be even this coming week, providing, I can work 10-12 hours a day. I do not want to work even longer hours, because you are not sharp and still you can spoil delicate balance required for this finish.
> > > > > Do you want me to send you some photos? I will be glad to. The column still, has to be viewed from all sides.
> > > > > Kindly,
> > > > >
> > > > > Brandon

Date: Friday, March 11 2011 12:54 AM
Subject: FW: Daily Mail
From: GMAX [redacted]
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

------ Forwarded Message
From: <[redacted]>
Reply-To: <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, 10 Mar 2011 16:40:11 -0500
To: NY Max [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Daily Mail

Please see below. My take:A) voluntary rules are meaningless in terms of arranging for a cessation of crap articles/stories etcB) doesn't offer redress (financial or in terms of publicity.Law here definitely provides more protection and redress if individual(s) involved in approaches from newspapers are employees or have any form of contractual relationship with target.Let's talk.Kevinx

Kevin MaxwellAvenue Partners Limited35 Park LaneLondon W1K 1RBTel[redacted]Fax:[redacted]

From: Ross gow <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, 10 Mar 2011 21:29:24 +0000
To: GMAX[redacted] [redacted]
Cc: Brian Basham<[redacted]>; Ross Gow<[redacted]>; Ian Ian Maxwell<[redacted]>; Kevin Maxwell<[redacted]>; Gareth Thompson<[redacted]>; <[redacted]
Subject: Re: Daily Mail
Maz is the most devious and cunning of the bunch. However, Editors can pay for people, stories and documents. They can even pay criminals if it is in the public interest.
Maz can pay who he wants for info but the Yorkshire Ripper for instance, as a convicted criminal, can't sell his story...unless in public interest cos there was say, a bent detective.

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i) No payment or offer of payment to a witness - or any person who may reasonably be expected to be called as a witness - should be made in any case once proceedings are active as defined by the Contempt of Court Act 1981.

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*ii) Where proceedings are not yet active but are likely and foreseeable, editors must not make or offer payment to any person who may reasonably be expected to be called as a witness, unless the information concerned ought demonstrably to be published in the public interest and there is an over-riding need to make or promise payment for this to be done; and all reasonable steps have been taken to ensure no financial dealings influence the evidence those witnesses give. In no circumstances should such payment be conditional on the outcome of a trial.

*iii) Any payment or offer of payment made to a person later cited to give evidence in proceedings must be disclosed to the prosecution and defence. The witness must be advised of this requirement.

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i) Payment or offers of payment for stories, pictures or information, which seek to exploit a particular crime or to glorify or glamorise crime in general, must not be made directly or via agents to convicted or confessed criminals or to their associates – who may include family, friends and colleagues.

ii) Editors invoking the public interest to justify payment or offers would need to demonstrate that there was good reason to believe the public interest would be served. If, despite payment, no public interest emerged, then the material should not be published.

Ross Gow
Managing Partner

ACUITY Reputation Limited
[redacted]

Mobile [redacted]
Tel [redacted]

acuityreputation.com <[redacted]>

Sent from my iPad

On 10 Mar 2011, at 16:41, GMAX [redacted]> wrote:

> Actually school means university in the states. I think probably best not to get into the legality or not of sexual activity of young people and nor is it relevant to JE case as he was in his late 40's at the time of this story..the headline is deliberately wrong..school adults would have been accurate..
>
> On 3/10/11 3:16 AM, "Brian Basham" <[redacted]> wrote:

We should think about a letter to the editor today. 'School' can mean university. Age of consent in Florida is complex – see below:

If you are 16-yrs-old, a sexual relationship with someone 18-24**is** legal in Florida. The two persons involved must be between 16 and 24.
Florida Statute **794.05**
(1) A person 24 years of age or older who engages in sexual activity with a person 16 or 17 years of age commits a felony of the second degree.

So as soon as you turn 16 you are able to have sexual relations. And you can have sexual relations with a **minor (under 18) until your 24th birthday.**

'Females for JE': Disturbing log of telephone calls from schoolchildren found in sex den of Duke's billionaire friend

By Stephen Wright <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/search.html?s=y &authornamef=Stephen+ Wright <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/search.html?s=y &authornamef=Stephen+ Wright> >
Last updated at 6:30 PM on 9th March 2011

Details of the disturbing lifestyle led by Jeffrey Epstein emerged last night after the Daily Mail uncovered logs of telephone messages left at his Florida child sex den.

Schoolchildren were among hundreds of callers who apparently rang to arrange massages for the 58-year-old billionaire friend of Prince Andrew, who was later convicted of child sex offences.

Ghislaine Maxwell, 49-year-old daughter of the disgraced media mogul Robert Maxwell, is named in several messages.

Disturbing: Messages were found in Florida home of Jeffrey Epstein, left. The billionaire, 58, is a friend of Prince Andrew, right

In one left for her or 'Sarah', a caller says she 'doesn't know at what time she must come this night for the massage'.

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Another with sickening overtones comes from someone called Jeanluc for Epstein: 'He just did a good one – 18 years. (She spoke to me and said, “I love Jeffrey”)’.

The long list of women is punctuated by regular references to Epstein’s celebrity friends including the business magnate Donald Trump, film producer Harvey Weinstein and magician David Copperfield, referred to as ‘Magic David’.

The sheer volume of phone traffic shows the frequency of Epstein’s massages, many of which were ‘erotic’ and allegedly involved the abused girls.

The evidence is from documents confiscated by police during a criminal investigation into Epstein and seen yesterday by the Mail.

<image.png>

<image.png>

Logs: Two of the answer phone messages. Miss Maxwell is asked, right, when a girl should give a massage

One message left for Epstein reads: ‘She is wondering if 2.30 ok cuz she needs to stay in school.’

It was left in February 2005 – the same year that the mother of a 14-year-old girl alerted police to Epstein’s abuse.

Another note shows that ‘Colleen’ phoned to tell Epstein: ‘Going into class – will be out in 45 min.
’

Last night the Daily Mail tried to contact the people whose names and telephone numbers are included in the logs.

One girl named Jenny, who had left her number, hung up immediately when asked about Epstein.

A man listed only as Darren said: ‘I have no comment to make on that.’

Today, Prince Andrew was embroiled in further controversy as it was revealed Kazakhstan had asked for his help in recruiting investors to the country.

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Read more: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article- 1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html#ixzz1GBL6XKcI <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html#ixzz1GBL6XKcI > < http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article- 1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article- 1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html> >

From: Ross Gow [[redacted]]
Sent: 10 March 2011 7:48 AM
To: Ross gow
Cc: [redacted] <[redacted]> ; Ian Maxwell; Kevin Maxwell; Brian Basham; Gareth Thompson; [redacted] <
[redacted] >
Subject: Daily Mail

Mail have published phone logs

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article- 1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article- 1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article- 1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1364171/Females- Jeffrey-Epstein-The-damning-telephone-log.html> >

Ross Gow

Managing Partner

ACUITY Reputation Limited

23 Berkeley Square

London W1J 6HE

Mobile [redacted]

Tel [redacted]

acuityreputation.com <http://acuityreputation.com > <http://acuityreputation.com >

Sent from my iPad

On 10 Mar 2011, at 07:35, Ross gow <[redacted]
[redacted] > <[redacted]
[redacted] > wrote:

"Epstein's Gulfstream flew in to RAF Marham with him and the Duke's friend Ghislaine Maxwell on board, before they enjoyed the Duke's hospitality at the Queen's Norfolk estate 20 miles away...."

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Sent from my iPad

On 9 Mar 2011, at 22:52, Ross Gow <[redacted] > <[redacted] > wrote:

Dear Ghislaine

Thank you for your good-humoured patience with us and the legal team today, during what is, understandably, a testing time.

To confirm:
1) I spoke to Dilenschneider in NYC at length tonight and shared strategy and role definition.
2) we sent agreed statement to Dan Mangan ay NYPost - he's on deadline for a piece on Charlie Sheen/Rob Lowe and seems to have moved on - for the moment.
3) we will release statement via Press Association and PR Newswire @11.00GMT tmrw and follow up with calls to those journalists who have written pieces.

We will create call log/matrix and advise feedback and sentiment as appropriate tmrw. Please don't hesitate to call if you have any additional concerns.

Best regards
Ross

Ross Gow
Managing Partner

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Sent from my iPad

------ End of Forwarded Message

Date: Saturday, March 12 2011 02:15 AM
Subject: Fw: Daily Mail
From: Gmax <[redacted]
To: jeevacation@gmail.com;

---- Original Message ----
From: Ross gow <[redacted]>
To: Gmax;[redacted] <[redacted]>
Cc: Brian Basham <[redacted]>; Ross Gow <[redacted]>; Ian Ian Maxwell <[redacted]>; Kevin Maxwell <[redacted]>; Gareth Thompson <[redacted]>; <[redacted]>
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Subject: Re: Daily Mail

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By Stephen Wright < <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/search.html?s=y &authornamef=Stephen+Wright> http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/search.html?s=y &authornamef=Stephen+Wright>
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Mobile [redacted]

Tel [redacted]

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Sent from my iPad

On 9 Mar 2011, at 22:52, Ross Gow <[redacted]> wrote:

Dear Ghislaine

Thank you for your good-humoured patience with us and the legal team today, during what is, understandably, a testing time.

To confirm:
1) I spoke to Dilenschneider in NYC at length tonight and shared strategy and role definition.
2) we sent agreed statement to Dan Mangan ay NYPost - he's on deadline for a piece on Charlie Sheen/Rob Lowe and seems to have moved on - for the moment.
3) we will release statement via Press Association and PR Newswire @11.00GMT tmrw and follow up with calls to those journalists who have written pieces.

We will create call log/matrix and advise feedback and sentiment as appropriate tmrw. Please don't hesitate to call if you have any additional concerns.

Best regards
Ross

Ross Gow
Managing Partner

ACUITY Reputation Limited
23 Berkeley Square
London W1J 6HE

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Tel [redacted]

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Sent from my iPad

From: [redacted] [redacted]
Sent: 7/16/2011 6:42:55 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Fwd: 'Atlas Shrugged': From Fiction to Fact in 52 Years .
Attachments: image007.jpg

Importance: High

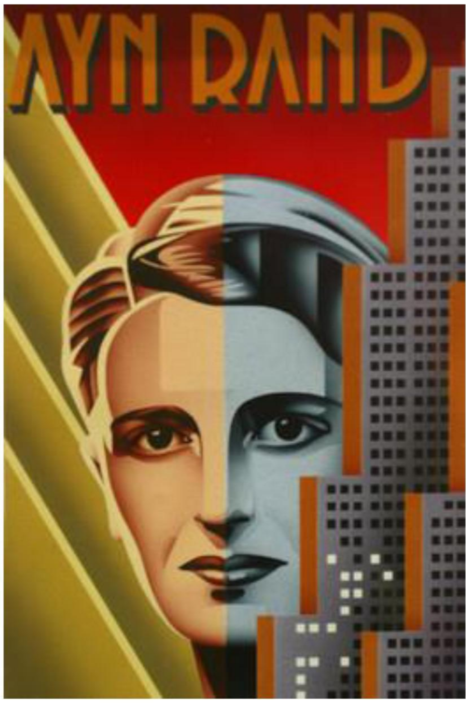
From Stevie.

-----Original Message-----
From: Steven Sinofsky [redacted]>
To: 'Melanie Walker ' <[redacted]
Sent: Sat, Jul 16, 2011 11:05 am
Subject: 'Atlas Shrugged': From Fiction to Fact in 52 Years .

'Atlas Shrugged': From Fiction to Fact in 52 Years

By STEPHEN MOORE

Some years ago when I worked at the libertarian Cato Institute, we used to label any new hire who had not yet read "Atlas Shrugged" a "virgin." Being conversant in Ayn Rand's classic novel about the economic carnage caused by big government run amok was practically a job requirement. If only "Atlas" were required reading for every member of Congress and political appointee in the Obama administration. I'm confident that we'd get out of the current financial mess a lot faster.



Getty Images

The art for a 1999 postage stamp.

Many of us who know Rand's work have noticed that with each passing week, and with each successive bailout plan and economic-stimulus scheme out of Washington, our current politicians are committing the very acts of economic lunacy that "Atlas Shrugged" parodied in 1957, when this 1,000-page novel was first published and became an instant hit.

Rand, who had come to America from Soviet Russia with striking insights into totalitarianism and the destructiveness of socialism, was already a celebrity. The left, naturally, hated her. But as recently as 1991, a survey by the Library of Congress and the Book of the Month Club found that readers rated "Atlas" as the second-most influential book in their lives, behind only the Bible.

For the uninitiated, the moral of the story is simply this: Politicians invariably respond to crises -- that in most cases they themselves created -- by spawning new government programs, laws and regulations. These, in turn, generate more havoc and poverty, which inspires the politicians to create more programs . . . and the downward spiral repeats itself until the productive sectors of the economy collapse under the collective weight of taxes and other burdens imposed in the name of fairness, equality and do-goodism.

In the book, these relentless wealth redistributionists and their programs are disparaged as "the looters and their laws." Every new act of government futility and stupidity carries with it a benevolent-sounding title. These include the "Anti-Greed Act" to redistribute income (sounds like Charlie Rangel's promises soak-the-rich tax bill) and the "Equalization of Opportunity Act" to prevent people from starting more than one business (to give other people a chance). My personal favorite, the "Anti Dog-Eat-Dog Act," aims to restrict cut-throat competition between firms and thus slow the wave of business bankruptcies. Why didn't Hank Paulson think of that?

These acts and edicts sound farcical, yes, but no more so than the actual events in Washington, circa 2008. We already have been served up the $700 billion "Emergency Economic Stabilization Act" and the "Auto Industry Financing and Restructuring Act." Now that Barack Obama is in town, he will soon sign into law with great urgency the "American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan." This latest Hail Mary pass will increase the federal budget (which has already expanded by $1.5 trillion in eight years under George Bush) by an additional $1 trillion -- in roughly his first 100 days in office.

The current economic strategy is right out of "Atlas Shrugged": The more incompetent you are in business, the more handouts the politicians will bestow on you. That's the justification for the $2 trillion of subsidies doled out already to keep afloat distressed insurance companies, banks, Wall Street investment houses, and auto companies -- while standing next in line for their share of the booty are real-estate developers, the steel industry, chemical companies, airlines, ethanol producers, construction firms and even catfish farmers. With each successive bailout to "calm the markets," another trillion of national wealth is subsequently lost. Yet, as "Atlas" grimly foretold, we now treat the incompetent who wreck their companies as victims, while those resourceful business owners who manage to make a profit are portrayed as recipients of illegitimate "windfalls."

When Rand was writing in the 1950s, one of the pillars of American industrial might was the railroads. In her novel the railroad owner, Dagny Taggart, an enterprising industrialist, has a FedEx-like vision for expansion and first-rate service by rail. But she is continuously badgered, cajoled, taxed, ruled and regulated -- always in the public interest -- into bankruptcy. Sound far-fetched? On the day I sat down to write this ode to "Atlas," a Wall Street Journal headline blared: "Rail Shippers Ask Congress to Regulate Freight Prices."

In one chapter of the book, an entrepreneur invents a new miracle metal -- stronger but lighter than steel. The government immediately appropriates the invention in "the public good." The politicians demand that the metal inventor come to Washington and sign over ownership of his invention or lose everything.

The scene is eerily similar to an event late last year when six bank presidents were summoned by Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson to Washington, and then shuttled into a conference room and told, in effect, that they could not leave until they collectively signed a document handing over percentages of their future profits to the government. The Treasury folks insisted that this shakedown, too, was all in "the public interest."

Ultimately, "Atlas Shrugged" is a celebration of the entrepreneur, the risk taker and the cultivator of wealth through human intellect. Critics dismissed the novel as simple-minded, and even some of Rand's political admirers complained that she lacked compassion. Yet one pertinent warning resounds throughout the book: When profits and wealth and creativity are denigrated in society, they start to disappear -- leaving everyone the poorer.

One memorable moment in "Atlas" occurs near the very end, when the economy has been rendered comatose by all the great economic minds in Washington. Finally, and out of desperation, the politicians come to the heroic businessman John Galt (who has resisted their assault on capitalism) and beg him to help them get the economy back on track. The discussion sounds much like what would happen today:

Galt: "You want me to be Economic Dictator?"

Mr. Thompson: *"Yes!"*

"And you'll obey any order I give?"

"Implicitly!"

"Then start by abolishing all income taxes."

"Oh no!" screamed Mr. Thompson, leaping to his feet. *"We couldn't do that . . . How would we pay government employees?"*

"Fire your government employees."

"*Oh, no!"*

Abolishing the income tax. Now *that* really would be a genuine economic stimulus. But Mr. Obama and the Democrats in Washington want to do the opposite: to *raise* the income tax "for purposes of fairness" as Barack Obama puts it.

David Kelley, the president of the Atlas Society, which is dedicated to promoting Rand's ideas, explains that "the older the book gets, the more timely its message." He tells me that there are plans to make "Atlas Shrugged" into a major motion picture -- it is the only classic novel of recent decades that was never made into a movie. "We don't need to make a movie out of the book," Mr. Kelley jokes. "We are living it right now."

From: Faith Kates [redacted]
Sent: 8/14/2012 1:05:43 PM
To: Faith Kates [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Public work vs private AMAZING

> This is crazy please read it and pass it on!!!
>
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
>
>
> From: John Connolly Ed.D. [redacted]
> Date: August 4, 2012 3:54:25 PM GMT+02:00
> To: RALPH BERNSTEIN <[redacted], Morad Tahbaz <[redacted]>, "Joseph Bernstein
[redacted]" <[redacted]
> Subject: FW: Public work vs private AMAZING
>
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>
> John J. Connolly, Ed.D.
>
> President & CEO
>
> Castle Connolly Medical Ltd.
>
> 42 W. 24th St.
>
> New York, NY 10010
>
>
>
> P. [redacted]
>
> F.
>
>
>
> [redacted]
>
> www.castleconnolly.com
>
>
>
> From: ed thompson [mailto:[redacted]
> Sent: Friday, August 03, 2012 6:03 PM
> To: ;
> Subject: Fw: Public work vs private AMAZING
>
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>

> There are actually two messages here. The first is very
>
> interesting, but the second is absolutely astounding - and explains a lot.
>
> A recent "Investor's Business Daily" article provided very interesting statistics from a survey by the United Nations International Health Organization.
>
> Percentage of men and women who survived a cancer five years after diagnosis:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. | 65% |
> | England | 46% |
> | Canada | 42% |
>
> Percentage of patients diagnosed with diabetes who received treatment within six months:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. | 93% |
> | England | 15% |
> | Canada | 43% |
>
> Percentage of seniors needing hip replacement who received it within six months:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. | 90% |
> | England | 15% |
> | Canada | 43% |
>
> Percentage referred to a medical specialist who see one within one month:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. | 77% |
> | England | 40% |
> | Canada | 43% |
>
> Number of MRI scanners (a prime diagnostic tool) per million people:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. | 71 |
> | England | 14 |
> | Canada | 18 |
>
> Percentage of seniors (65+), with low income, who say they are in "excellent health":
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. | 12% |
> | England | 2% |
> | Canada | 6% |

> And now for the last statistic:
>
> National Health Insurance?
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. | NO |
> | England | YES |
> | Canada | YES |
>
> Check this last set of statistics!!
>
> The percentage of each past president's cabinet who had worked in the private business sector prior to their appointment to the cabinet. You know what the private business sector is a real-life business, not a government job. Here are the percentages.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | T. Roosevelt | 38% |
> | Taft | 40% |
> | Wilson | 52% |
> | Harding | 49% |
> | Coolidge | 48% |
> | Hoover | 42% |
> | F. Roosevelt | 50% |
> | Truman | 50% |
> | Eisenhower | 57% |
> | Kennedy | 30% |
> | Johnson | 47% |
> | Nixon | 53% |
> | Ford | 42% |
> | Carter | 32% |
> | Reagan | 56% |
> | GH Bush | 51% |
> | Clinton | 39% |
> | GW Bush | 55% |
> | Obama | 8% |
>
> This helps to explain the incompetence of this administration: only 8% of them have ever worked in private business!
>
> That's right! Only eight percent---the least, by far, of the last 19 presidents! And these people are trying to tell our big corporations how to run their business?
>
> How can the president of a major nation and society, the one with the most successful economic system in world history, stand and talk about business when he's never worked for one? Or about jobs when he has never really had one? And when it's the same for 92% of his senior staff and closest advisers? They've spent most of their time in academia, government and/or non-profit jobs or as "community organizers." They should have been in an employment line.
>
> Pass this on because we'll NEVER see these facts in the main stream media.

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>
>    ------ End of Forwarded Message
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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/12/2014 11:24:06 AM
To: Mariana Idźkowska [redacted]

These conspiracy theories are an aberration and an insult to the memory of the crash victims, including the late President himself. As a Pole who *is* at least somewhat aware of the politics and economics of Poland, and a journalist who follows world politics and news developments daily, I am severely disappointed at the number of people that are flocking to these conspiracy theories, and academics and professionals who propagate such ideas should themselves feel ashamed.

Firstly, there is absolutely no proof that there was any sabotage or subterfuge by *either* the Russians *or* the Prime Minister's political allies. Such accusations, then, without presenting any credible evidence, are slanderous.

Also, there would be no political or diplomatic capital gained by either of the "accused"... there would be little for the Russian government to gain - it would be a huge diplomatic embarrassment for the Russian government to be found guilty of essentially assassinating a head of state. Kaczynski was one of the strongest allies of the U.S. among European leaders, and even Russia with its assertive diplomatic policies would not risk a complete breakdown with the U.S. by killing a close ally. International condemnation would also follow, and the President - perhaps even the Prime Minister - would have to resign and wave good-bye to any political career in the foreseeable future. Yes, "even in Russia."

Similarly, for the Prime Minister's party, if he were actually complicit in the crash, that would mean he - or his allies - committed a coup d'etat. Also, there will be early presidential elections in June, which might actually go in favor of the President's party because of a sympathy vote. The "acting" Presidency is in the hands of his party for only two months... so, again, the Prime Minister and his allies have nothing to gain and potentially everything to lose in the June vote.

Conspiracy-monging cheapens a national tragedy

Political profit or loss questions aside, however, the conspiracy-monging seems to be taken as a way to discover who's responsible for the tragedy and thus somehow bring them justice. However, it is not a healthy way to deal with the tragedy. It is not conducive to national or personal healing. Furthermore, it disgraces and taints the memory of those who died.

It only cheapens the tragedy and, sadly, may foreshadow what's to come in the coming presidential campaign - the tragedy may be used by certain groups or individuals to propagate their own agenda and assume the presidency.

It is not so different than what has been going on in the U.S., with the "birthers" claiming Barack Obama is not legally the President because he is not actually a citizen, or even natural-born citizen. Not as morbid, of course, but still, in my honest opinion, ridiculous.

Baseless, nonsensical conspiracies simply destroys the abiltiy of the nation and people of Poland to move on and honor the memory of those lost, and cheapens the tragedy that has been felt by Poles as far away as Chicago as well, and commented on with deep sorrow and respect by U.S. politicians from Mayor Daley to President Obama himself.

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Jeffrey Epstein
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From: [redacted]
Sent: 12/22/2011 10:14:55 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: we will be having dinnr with him on sunday

Importance: High

Bozhe Moi!!
Hope I'll handle my utensils:))

On Dec 22, 2011 12:09 PM, "Jeffrey Epstein" <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> Gergen went on to become the Director of Communications for President Gerald Ford and President Ronald Reagan, a counselor on domestic and foreign affairs for President Bill Clinton and his Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and an adviser to the 1980 George H.W. Bush presidential campaign.
>
> --
> **
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/17/2016 1:35:22 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: the story

Importance: High

1. all the girls discussed in the press , came to the house , to give erotic massages. each and every girl , each time, came in exchange for money. many of the girls interviewed were in their mid twenties early thirties. no searching for underage girls. many of the girls worked in the local massage parlors. (advertised everyday in the palm beach papers. , referred in the local vernacular to " jack shacks". 5 within 4 miles of the intl airpot.) or strip clubs.. (both of the girls bringing the cvra case).

2. There have been discussios of a house full of underage photos. the video taken by the police contradict that in its entirety

3 there have been discsussion about hidden video cameras. they were put there with the HELP of the local Police , in order to catch a thief. money had been going missing , and the police came , set up cameras. and one night hid in the bushes hoping to catch the thief in the act. It turned out to be the houseman. who confessed, . there were never any hidden cameras anywhere besides the garage and the camera in the living room focused on the place where money was kept

4. The police conducted a search. and found adult sextoys, I am an adult. they made a point to say that there was a purple plastic sex toy, , but later without correcting their earliler assertion disconver it was nothing but a salad fork

5. The girl whose parents initiated the investigation, told the police in a sworn statment that she had lied about her age to gain access to the house. she said she tried her best to appear over 18 , as she wanted to be invited back. there was not trolling for anyone underage.

6 . many if not most of the girls , invited their friends , best friends after they had left. hardly a normal result if there had been any coercion or anytrhing untoward.
7 , many of the girls had their boyfirends wait downstairs. or in some instances their parents. not one time did anyone ever complain of mistreatment ,
8 there was never ever any drugs , alcolhol, threats, coercion

9 the local sex crimes prosecutor, lana belahovik , interviewed the girls herself , and concluded in her own words thre wer no real victims here. just local prostituion. she offer a 5 year probation sentence with no registration. . Alan dershowitwz told me I shouldnt take it . it was too dangerous. not telling me that my probation would have been moved to my home in the virigin islands. then the prosecutors to be fair presented their information to a grand jury, the ONLY time a jury would see any of the claims. the result was a charge of soliction of prostituion . a crime with a mandatory release after taking a harms of prostiution course. This was a grand jury determination.

10 . local. no transportation across state lines. contrary to [redacted] outragious and libeious allegations, no trafficking. it is a disservice to women who are trafficked to compare a woman brought into the country , tied to a bed, given drugs to have sex with strangers for money that she doesnt get . . to girsl who took a taxi to my house, had food snacks and got paid, then went shopping with her friedns and back home.

11/ the fbi decided to pursue a highly unusual case. their position was that my secretary , not me, called girls on the telephone and asked them if they would like to work. . many times as the message pads reveall the girls called over and over again askking to work. hardly coercion (the latest cases REQURE coercion, which states it is NOT for making appts ....)

12 THe fbi, threatend many statutes if i would not plead guilty to a state crime. they suggested that a cell phone was a means of interstae commerce (similar to perverts who troll the internet , in searhc of underage girsl , and in each and every one of those cases the govt is required to confirm , and they do,that the person KNEW or that the person on the other end of the computer was underage. . all stings hve the police stinger ask dont you know that i am 14 , 13 etc. there was never any such conversation with anyone.
13. the govt said that traveling to my homeof 15 year in florida, ccould be considered traveling for thepurpsoe of underage sex. never before anyone not crossing state lines with a person , charged with a crimge for going home

14. the gov said that they would not bring an indictment if i plead guilty to being a pimp.(a crime in florida that REQUIRES the pimpt to earh money off the the girls , (regster as a sex offender) and pay a list of girls whose names they would provide me only AFTER the fact. and AFTER i was in jail. I would have to agree NOT to contest any claim by anyone they put on the list . when I attempted to do so , as i never met some of the people on the list. I reived a letter stating that any attempt to question their story would result in a breech of my agreeemnt.
15. If I had tto do it over I hope i would have shown much better judgement as many of the girls came from underprivleged familys and i was unaware of the potential for harm.
16.[redacted], has said she was a sex slave. . she has now admited she lied about her age. she was never 15. she has changed th story on my wikipieia page , but no press statment. she said that clinton was on the island, not true, she said ghilsane flew him in a black helipcopter, I did not have a black heli and she never flew him, she said that al gore and wife were on the isalnd never happened, she has accused a prime minisnter a senator a prinve. a sceintist, alan dershowitz. a many in his seventies with his wife in attendance. sex on a plane with secret service and dimplanic protection people looking the other way. . she had an arrest warrnat for her as she stole money from the restaurnat at which she worked, she had before made clainds of sexual assualts but the prosecutro said she had no creidbility ,[redacted] emiails , suggst adding alan dershowitz to her complaint. [redacted] emails suggest[redacted] might have comminted pergury . she has said that the house had many photos of underage girls , a recent press realease clearly shows another lie.

17, the press has labled me a pedophile a disgusting term for men atracted to pre pubcesnet girsl. . these girls worked in a strip club. . Not one person ever testified that they were asked to bring underage girls , in fact the opposite. all said they were told on one under 18. fbi foia request . confirms

wealth was not used as an advantage. the local police chief said this case was bigger than rush limbaugh, . no one had ever faced a federal charge for having prostituies in their own house. no violence coercion. etc
191 the police released to the press , the raw statements of the girls. not one was ever questioned by opposing counsel. .

--

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JEE
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The Special Counsel's office, nearly leak-proof since its inception more than a year ago, can appear to be operating in some parallel universe unmoved by the every-day political turmoil. But in the course of conversations I've had researching a new book on President Trump and the forces arrayed against him, it has become clear that Robert Mueller and his office are already preparing for a life or death confrontation with the President and the mother of all constitutional crises.

Over the last several months the Mueller office has prepared a possible indictment of the president on charges related to obstruction of justice and devised a legal strategy to navigate the inevitable fallout from such an indictment.

My discussions have been with both White House advisors and people close to the investigation—that is, sources on both sides of the possible conflict. No source involved in this story would speak on the record. But in broad-strokes each side's understanding matches the account provided to me by the other side.

The Special Counsel has in place a set of allegations, proposed charges, and an aggressive legal theory to support the indictment of the president on obstruction charges. In the last few weeks, as the President has indulged his pardon authority, the Mueller team has also developed a legal basis to oppose what the Special Counsel believes will be a likely pardon of former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn—who had previously struck a plea bargain which could include his testimony against the President—and what it believes to be another step in the President's obstruction efforts.

At this point, the case for indictment has, in effect, a judge of one, since the Mueller team must get the approval of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein to proceed. As recently as April, Rosenstein publicly declared that the President was not a target, but this may have been a kind of fig leaf: technically the President does not become a formal target until Rosenstein agrees to designate him as one. It may also illustrate a conflict between the Deputy Attorney General and the investigators he has overseen since the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the Russia-related investigation—though, according to one source, Mueller believes he does have the support of his boss.

The proposed indictment would be all the more controversial because it finds the entire narrative of the case for obstruction in plain sight. Almost nothing in it-involves new information; rather, it takes well-covered public events and moves them to a set of circumstantial conclusions. There is no smoking gun beyond the often flagrant, custom-breaking, events of the President's 16 months in office. Indeed, much of the evidence is based on the President's public statements and tweets about those events. "This indictment could have been drafted without anyone being interviewed," said one source. This is, from the perspective of White House sources good news: the case then, is just an issue of what motives are ascribed to the President's behavior—behavior that is, the President's supporters believe it is easy to show, impulsive and not thought out. Hence no intent. For the Mueller team, it is precisely that careless behavior and flagrant disregard for constitutional standards that they hope-to put on trial.

According to a source involved in the Mueller strategy, the plan to indict the President is now "more advanced" than it was when the terms of the indictment were agreed earlier in the year. In the intervening months, the president's lawyers, spokespersons and surrogates have staged a very public debate about whether such a legal proceeding would be constitutional—in effect trying to discredit, ahead of time, any prosecutorial action the Special Counsel's office might take. This may be a preemptive response to an indictment they expect is forthcoming. It may also be an effort to pressure Rosenstein. It may even be an effort to convince Mueller of that, since some in the White House believe that that the plan to indict is not a strategy yet embraced by the whole Special Counsel's office, but one that is being advocated only by its most virulently anti-Trump purists on the investigative team—most notably by the number two lawyer under Mueller, Andrew Weissmann.

It may be noteworthy that there appears now not to be plan for an indictment related to collusion, although, legal experts say, that could come later and may depend on new information from the investigation of the President's personal attorney, Michael Cohen. It is also possible that alternative plans have been made—preparation for more expansive indictments, for instance, or for a broader report that would include the allegations of obstruction but not seek to indict the President.

The White House view is that without the underlying collusion charge—"real collusion," in the words of one White House advisor, "and not just a bunch of Facebook ads and some trolls"—Mueller will be presenting a weak and politically-motivated case. "That's a witch hunt," said the advisor. The view of the Mueller team, or at least that of its most ardent members, seems to be that the obstruction charges go to the very heart of exposing how Trump has abused his power and turned the White House into a corrupt fiefdom.

According to one source, Mueller could hardly contain his disgust when last month Rudy Giuliani, the President's new lawyer—hired to make a case for the President on television and to push back against the Mueller team—airily dismissed the notion that a sitting president can be indicted. Adding insult to injury, Giuliani—who a White House source said has likely learned of aspects of the pending indictment—said Mueller agreed with that assessment. White House sources believe Giuliani was daring the Special Counsel to tip his hand. But Mueller, ever in character, contained his outrage and continued to hold his cards close, as his team finished preparing the obstruction case and refined the legal theories under which it would claim the right to haul the president into court.

According to the proposed indictment, the President's scheme to obstruct the FBI's investigation into connections between the Trump campaign and Russian efforts to undermine the U.S. election began-on the 7th day of the Trump administration. Three days prior, on January 24, National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, lied to the FBI about his contacts with the Russian Ambassador, Sergey Kislyak. From January 27th, when the President had the one-on-one dinner with FBI Director James Comey~~,~~through to the middle of April, the President-conducted a cat and mouse game with Comey, testing his loyalty and trying to establish his willingness to aide the President and protect Flynn. On May 9th, baldly admitting his dissatisfaction with Comey's unwillingness to play ball on Russia, the President fired the FBI director. Shortly thereafter, continuing his efforts to disrupt the investigation, the President turned his ire on the Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, pressuring him to fall into line on the President's behalf, and on Robert Mueller, the newly appointed Special Counsel, pushing to fire him to block the investigation.

The second episode that the Mueller teams has focued on took place on July 8, on Air Force one, when the President personally directed his son, Don, Jr., to lie about the reason for his meeting in Trump Tower, during the campaign, with representatives of the Russian government—a meeting about collaborating with the Russians to undermine Hillary Clinton's campaign.

The third episode began on June 7th, after reports that Deputy FBI

Director Andrew McCabe would confirm statements made by James Comey about how the president had tried to intimidate him. In response, the President began a campaign of harassment, threats, and intimidation against McCabe. On March 16, 2018, after McCabe testified before Congress, the President, in retaliation, caused his dismissal and the loss of his pension.

The Mueller team may have a high hurdle in convincing Rosenstein to approve the indictment. The Department of Justice's standing view precludes charging a sitting president with a crime. This is based on an opinion written by the Office of Legal Counsel in the Watergate era and recently expressed in hyperbolic terms by Giuliani: the President could kill James Comey if he wanted to without fear of prosecution. But, according to several former DOJ lawyers, Rosenstein in this circumstance may have the power to override the Office of Legal Counsel opinion. In effect, finding that the standing opinion does not cover the present circumstances. In one view—and in the suspicion of some in the White House—he may have already authorized Mueller to proceed with the indictment.

The White House has made the argument—supported in many television appearances by Trump legal surrogate, Alan Dershowitz—that a president cannot be prosecuted for exercising his constitutional prerogatives, even if those actions foster a crime; the President, as the ultimate federal office, and the nation's chief law enforcement officer, enjoys nearly unfettered latitude in how he carries out his duties. "I don't think you are going to find a court who will not see the president's role as unique," said one White House advisor. "The Mueller theories are wishful thinking."

An indictment for obstruction of Justice is described in similar ways by both Mueller and White House insiders: it puts the President's public behavior on trial. The nature of that behavior, for the Mueller team, is corrupt; this, according to the White House, is how voters elected the President to behave.

The Special Counsel seems less worried about its legal position than it does about it's existential one—continuing to anticipate how the President might use his authority to move against it.

According to insiders, the team has meticulously prepared for most contingencies it might face from an impulsive president who feels few restraints about the way he deals with his adversaries. He could act unilaterally and shut down the investigation, forcing a legal test likely before the Supreme Court. He could order the Attorney General—even given his prior recusal—to repeal the Special Counsel regulations and close down the investigation, and fire him if he refused. Or he could fire Rosenstein and seek someone else to oversee the investigation in ways more to his liking. The Mueller team continues to believe it is protected by political realities—the President can not know how Congress might respond, and it might well respond with impeachment. At the same time, it has tried to game out the uncharted legal areas of exactly what happens to all of its "work product" and to the sitting grand juries if the investigation is in fact shut down or its mission altered.

Likewise, people around the President—embracing a constitutional face-off as militantly as they maintain the Mueller investigation is—say this unknown legal area that might be advantageous to the President. The delays and disruption that result as courts sort out the ramifications of the President's actions might well be the President's legal friend—the reason some in the White House have been urging the President to end the investigation, whatever the political fallout.

The President's constitutional pardon powers appear to be some of the most troubling and threatening issues for the Special Counsel. The Counsel's office believes the President will use his pardon power as an instrument to undermine the investigation.

According to present and former White House advisors, the President's recent spate of pardons are in part his way of taunting the Special Counsel. The White House, according to these sources, is aware that the Special Counsel has concluded the President's pardon power is near absolute: the President can certainly pardon himself, and others involved in the investigation.

Most immediately, the Special Counsel's office believes that the President will pardon Michael Flynn, perhaps in the coming weeks. The question for the Mueller team is if it can build an exception to the President's pardon authority. It's view here falls back on the egregiousness of the President's own behavior: there is a level of obstruction of justice that all reasonable men might know when they see it. If you pardon someone to get yourself off the hook, that's obstruction, and subverting the rule of law and the constitution you've pledged to uphold.

As the President, by nature and design, tries to claim aggressive new powers, the Mueller team, almost in equal proportion, is trying to limit the theory of Presidential power and, even, to criminalize an expansive exercise of those powers.

People who know and have worked with Mueller find it, at best, unexpected that this traditional by the book G-man would be pursuing such far-reaching legal theories. But one possible explanation, shared by many in the White House, is that Mueller is overly reliant on his staff—in fact, is being led by his number two, Andrew Weissmann.

Weismann has a longstanding reputation for aggression: he was the prosecutor whose pursuit of the accounting firm Arthur Anderson in the Enron debacle ended in its conviction—a judgment reversed well after the firm's bankruptcy and dissolution. One White House advisor likened him to Victor Hugo's obsessed policeman Inspector Javert—a prosecutor consumed with taking down the President. Indeed, Weissmann, who has in the past contributed to Democratic candidates, is a particular bet noir and favorite whipping boy for the White House his central role in the Mueller investigation taken there as evidence of a deep bias against Donald Trump.

But in another view it is precisely because Mueller, a former Marine, is so by the book and Semper Fi that he finds Trump's behavior to be personally offensive, and, on its face, corrupt. "Bob Mueller is all about limits and rules. Donald Trump has none and acknowledges none," said one lawyer who has worked with Mueller in the past.

It may yet be even a more profound clash then that, the executive branch at war with itself—the Justice Department against the White House. In this, the President's almost daily tirades against the DOJ, the Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, the Deputy Attorney General, Rosenstein, the former head of the FBI, Comey, and his former deputy, Andrew McCabe, are part of an effort to obstruct justice and save himself.

The Mueller strategy (or Weissmann strategy) is a war strategy, in the view of some legal observers. An indictment of the President would be litigated to the hilt. It would force both the substantive issues of obstruction and abuse of power and the meta issues of Presidential immunity—in essence, the President's claims to being above the law—into open court for a long and painful review and dissection that might shadow the November election.

Legal experts believe that the Mueller team might well prevail in lower courts with a much less certain outcome in the Supreme Court.

Were the case to reach the Supreme Court after the November election, it might well be the results of that election that help seal the President's fate not just in Congress but also in the courts.

"Might such an expansive claim win, yes. Should it win, no." But everyone knows the reality: weak presidents lose cases, strong presidents win them," said Ken Starr, the former independent prosecutor who might know more about the legal pursuit of the president than anyone else on earth.

From: Matthew Hiltzik [[redacted]]
Sent: 12/15/2018 6:40:52 PM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
CC: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Kathy Ruemmler [redacted] Darren Indyke [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Also think there should be a line in there somewhere which clearly confirms that JE understands and recognizes that he did something wrong

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 15, 2018, at 12:03 PM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

Seems very good. Is there reason or opportunity here to evoke JE's Clinton connection? He had been publicly connected to the former President and became a proxy for the considerable anger at high levels of the Federal government that still surrounded Clinton. Likewise now, one reason to revive the story is that it is a way to tar a Trump administration official, who, in the normal course of his duties, happened to deal with the case.

On Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:28 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> thoughts.
>
> ---------- Forwarded message ---------
> From: **Ken Starr** <[redacted]>
> Date: Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:24 AM
> Subject: Re:
> To: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> Cc: Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]>
>
> Here goes:
>
> "Sweetheart deal! " So goes the critique of the resolution of a long-ago case involving our former client -- and now-friend -- Jeffrey Epstein. The critique is profoundly misplaced, supported neither by the law or the facts, nor by the structure of our constitutional republic. To the contrary, Jeffrey was subjected to an unprecedented federal intrusion into a quintessentially local criminal matter in south Florida. His offense to the social order -- involving sex for hire -- was entirely a matter entrusted to laws of the several States, not the federal government. His conduct -- a classic state offense --was being treated exactly that way by able, honest prosecutors in Palm Beach County, but the overweening federal government intruded where it did not belong. And now, over ten years after the fact, the current assault on federal decision-makers at the time, including now-Secretary of Labor Alex Acosta (then the United States Attorney in south Florida), condemns the federal authorities for not going far enough.
>
> The critics are entirely wrong. Neither the facts nor the law support the misguided criticisms being leveled by journalists and politicians at federal officials from over a decade ago -- including the highest levels of the Justice Department in Washington, D.C. .
>
> Here are the key facts: Jeffrey Epstein, a successful self-made businessman with no prior criminal history whatever, engaged in illegal conduct that amounts to solicitation of prostitution. That was wrong, and it was reasonably viewed as a violation of Florida state law. Although no coercion, violence, alcohol, drugs and the

like were involved, the unsavory facts were carefully assessed by experienced state prosecutors who aggressively enforce state criminal laws. No one turned a blind eye to potential offenses to the public order. To the contrary, the Palm Beach State Attorney's Office conducted an extensive 15-month investigation, led by the chief of the Sex Crimes Division. Mr. Epstein was then indicted by a state grand jury on a single felony count of solicitation of prostitution.

During that intense investigation, the state prosecutors extensively gathered and analyzed the evidence, met face-to-face with many of the asserted victims, considered their credibility -- or lack thereof -- and considered the extent of exculpatory evidence. Then, after months of elaborate negotiations, the state prosecutors believed they had reached a reasoned resolution of the matter that vindicated the public interest -- a resolution entirely consistent with that of cases involving other similarly-situated defendants.

Then, in came the feds. The United States Attorney's Office tried, to no avail, to fit Mr. Epstein's situation into its vision of what it viewed as a commercial trafficking ring targeting minors. This was anything but. At long last, the federal authorities acknowledged that stark reality and grudgingly agreed to defer prosecution to the state. But there was a huge catch. In the face of our arguments sharply condemning their overreach, the federal prosecutors insisted on many unorthodox requirements that tugged at fundamental values of due process. For example, the agreement required Mr. Epstein to pay an undisclosed list of asserted victims $150,000 each. Even more, the feds insisted that Jeffrey pay for an attorney to represent such unidentified victims if any chose to filed civil litigation against him. When asked what possible legal authority supported this extravagant exercise of national power, the feds lamely cited a wildly inapposite case from Alaska involving cocaine and forced on-the-street prostitution. Apples and oranges.

Under the federally-forced deal, Jeffrey was sentenced to jail. That would not have been the case under the agreed-upon state disposition of this non-violent, consensual commercial arrangement. Jeffrey complied, served that sentence, and in the process was treated exactly the same as other state-incarcerated individuals. His conduct was exemplary, and so characterized by the state custodial authorities. He continued his work, including his many philanthropic efforts.

Our friend Jeffrey Epstein has paid his debt to society. He has also paid out millions of dollars to the asserted victims and their highly-creative lawyers. For over ten years, he has lived an exemplary life, including carrying on his wide-ranging philanthropies. Those of us who represented him in the Florida proceedings -- for customary professional fees -- now count him as a trusted friend.

Our nation faces vitally important challenges, many involving the treatment of women and basic human dignity. Voices are rightly being raised speaking truth to power, especially about women in the workplace. But Jeffrey, an exemplary employer, has long since been called to account by the criminal justice system for his misdeeds of yesteryear. In the spirit of the bedrock American belief in second chances, that unhappy chapter in Jeffrey's otherwise-magnificent life should be allowed to close once and for all.

On Thu, Dec 13, 2018 at 4:24 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> ken ,would take a stab at the article for the law journal. ? thx
>
> --
>
> please note
>
> The information contained in this communication is
> confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
> constitute inside information, and is intended only for
> the use of the addressee. It is the property of
> JEE
> Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this

> > communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
> > and may be unlawful. If you have received this
> > communication in error, please notify us immediately by
> > return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
> > destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> > including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

> --
> please note
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> including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

The Special Counsel's office, nearly leak-proof since its inception more than a year ago, can appear to be operating in some parallel universe unmoved by the every-day political turmoil. But in the course of conversations I've had researching a new book on President Trump and the forces arrayed against him, it has become clear that Robert Mueller and his office are already preparing for a life or death confrontation with the President and the mother of all constitutional crises.

Over the last several months the Mueller office has prepared a possible indictment of the president on charges related to obstruction of justice and devised a legal strategy to navigate the inevitable fallout from such an indictment.

My discussions have been with both White House advisors and people close to the investigation—that is, sources on both sides of the possible conflict. No source involved in this story would speak on the record. But in broad-strokes each side's understanding matches the account provided to me by the other side.

Since at least April the Special Counsel has had in place a set of allegations, proposed charges, and an aggressive legal theory to support the indictment of the president on obstruction charges. In the last few weeks, as the President has indulged his pardon authority, the Mueller team has also developed a legal basis to oppose what the Special Counsel believes will be a likely pardon of former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn—who had previously struck a plea bargain which could include his testimony against the President—and what it believes to be another step in the President's obstruction efforts.

At this point, the case for indictment has, in effect, a judge of one, since the Mueller team must get the approval of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein to proceed. As recently as April, Rosenstein publicly declared that the President was not a target, but this may have been a kind of fig leaf: technically the President does not become a formal target until Rosenstein agrees to designate him as one. It may also illustrate a conflict between the Deputy Attorney General and the investigators he has overseen since the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the Russia-related investigation—though, according to one source, Mueller believes he does have the support of his boss.

The proposed indictment would be all the more controversial because it finds the entire narrative of the case for obstruction in plain sight. Almost nothing in it-involves new information; rather, it takes well-covered public events and moves them to a set of circumstantial conclusions. There is no smoking gun beyond the often flagrant, custom-breaking, events of the President's 16 months in office. Indeed, much of the evidence is based on the President's public statements and tweets about those events. "This indictment could have been drafted without anyone being interviewed," said one source. This is, from the perspective of White House sources good news: the case then, is just an issue of what motives are ascribed to the President's behavior—behavior that is, the President's supporters believe it is easy to show, impulsive and not thought out. Hence no intent. For the Mueller team, it is precisely that careless behavior and flagrant disregard for constitutional standards that they hope-to put on trial.

According to a source involved in the Mueller strategy, the plan to indict the President is now "more advanced" than it was when the terms of the indictment were agreed in April. In the intervening months, the president's lawyers, spokespersons and surrogates have staged a very public debate about whether such a legal proceeding would be constitutional—in effect trying to discredit, ahead of time, any prosecutorial action the Special Counsel's office might take. This may be a preemptive response to an indictment they expect is forthcoming. It may also be an effort to pressure Rosenstein. It may even be an effort to convince Mueller of that, since some in the White House believe that that the plan to indict is not a strategy yet embraced by the whole Special Counsel's office, but one that is being advocated only by its most virulently anti-Trump purists on the investigative team—most notably by the number two lawyer under Mueller, Andrew Weissmann.

It may be noteworthy that there appears now not to be plan for an indictment related to collusion, although, legal experts say, that could come later and may depend on new information from the investigation of the President's personal attorney, Michael Cohen. It is also possible that alternative plans have been made—preparation for more expansive indictments, for instance, or for a broader report that would include the allegations of obstruction but not seek to indict the President.

The White House view is that without the underlying collusion charge—"real collusion," in the words of one White House advisor, "and not just a bunch of Facebook ads and some trolls"—Mueller will be presenting a weak and politically-motivated case. "That's a witch hunt," said the advisor. The view of the Mueller team, or at least that of its most ardent members, seems to be that the obstruction charges go to the very heart of exposing how Trump has abused his power and turned the White House into a corrupt fiefdom.

According to one source, Mueller could hardly contain his disgust when last month Rudy Giuliani, the President's new lawyer—hired to make a case for the President on television and to push back against the Mueller team—airily dismissed the notion that a sitting president can be indicted. Adding insult to injury, Giuliani—who a White House source said has likely learned of aspects of the pending indictment—said Mueller agreed with that assessment. White House sources believe Giuliani was daring the Special Counsel to tip his hand. But Mueller, ever in character, contained his outrage and continued to hold his cards close, as his team finished preparing the obstruction case and refined the legal theories under which it would claim the right to haul the president into court.

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The Mueller team may have a high hurdle in convincing Rosenstein to approve the indictment. In its preparation for a possible indictment, the Mueller team argues that nothing in the Constitution or in a statute suggests a status with regard to criminal prosecution for the President different from any other federal office. Nor is there any statute or case law that finds that impeachment has to come before an indictment. But the Department of Justice's standing view precludes charging a sitting president with a crime. This is based on an opinion written by the Office of Legal Counsel in the Watergate era and recently expressed in hyperbolic terms by Giuliani: the President could kill James Comey if he wanted to without fear of prosecution. But, according to several former DOJ lawyers, Rosenstein in this circumstance may have the power to override the Office of Legal Counsel opinion. The Mueller team appears to believe that Rosenstein's pledge before congress that, absent malfeasance, he will support the Special Counsel's independence with regard to the Russian investigation, means he will let the indictment go forward. In one view—and in the suspicion of some in the White House—he may have already authorized Mueller to proceed with the indictment.

The White House has made the argument—supported in many television appearances by Trump legal surrogate, Alan Dershowitz—that a president cannot be prosecuted for exercising his constitutional prerogatives, even if those actions foster a crime, that the President, as the ultimate federal office, and the nation's chief law enforcement officer, enjoys nearly unfettered latitude in how he carries out his duties. "I don't think you are going to find a court who will not see the president's role as unique," said one White House advisor. "The Mueller theories are wishful thinking."

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The Special Counsel seems less worried about its legal position than it does about it's existential one—continuing to anticipate how the President might use his authority to move against it.

It sees its most immediate threat as a move by the President to replace Rosenstein. Here it believes that in the inevitable Supreme Court battle that would follow a direct attempt by the President to fire the Special Counsel, the Court would likely rebuff such an expansion of Presidential authority. At the same time, according to its internal research, the Mueller team understands that the President, acting with only somewhat more subtlety, would have the authority to order the Attorney General—even given his prior recusal—to repeal the Special Counsel regulations and close down the investigation. He can fire the Attorney General if he refuses. The President, could, too, according to the Special Counsel's analysis, fire Rosenstein and seek someone else to oversee the investigation in ways more to his liking. Both of these actions could, the Special Counsel believes, become part of the behavior that it argues in the indictment amounts to a prima facie case for obstruction of justice.

The Mueller team continues to believe it is protected by political realities—the President can not know how Congress might respond, and it might well respond with impeachment—and by bureaucratic ones. Changes to the Special Counsel authorization might require an extended comment period, meanwhile leaving the Special Counsel's status unchanged.

Still, what if the President, acting unilaterally, does shut it down? This, people around the President say is the unknown legal area that might be advantageous to the President. The delays and disruption that result as courts sort out the ramifications of the President's actions might well be the President's legal friend—the reason some in the White House have been urging the President to end the investigation, whatever the political fallout.

If so, what then happens to all the work the Special Counsel's office has done, and, indeed, to the sitting Grand Juries reviewing the evidence? The special counsel's view, according to insiders working on the issues, is that nobody knows. The optimistic legal view is that the

Office and staff would survive the Special Counsel's ouster and their work preserved. And that actions taken by the Grand Jury would remain in effect.

This, however, would probably not be true if the Attorney General refused the next Special Counsel's budget request—due on July 1. That would shut down the whole operation—the Special Counsel staff and grand juries. There might, however, according to research the team has prepared, be enough time between the order and the shuttering for the Special Counsel to share the grand jury evidence with other federal prosecutors, who might act on their own authority to pursue the President.

The President's constitutional pardon powers appear to be some of the most troubling and threatening issues for the Special Counsel. The Counsel's office believes the President will use his pardon power as an instrument to undermine the investigation.

According to present and former White House advisors, the President's recent spate of pardons are in part his way of taunting the Special Counsel. The White House, according to these sources, is aware that the Special Counsel has concluded the President's pardon power is near absolute: the President can certainly pardon himself, and others involved in the investigation.

Early in June, the Special Counsel, believing that a pardon for Michael Flynn was imminent, rushed to build a case that might form an exception to the President's pardon authority. The argument, perhaps a slim-thread one, tries to undermine what both the White House and many outside legal authorities, and much of the Special Counsel's own research, believes to be one of the few unchallengeable powers granted the President. In effect, the Special Counsel continues the theme of it's case: there is a level of obstruction of justice that all reasonable men might know when they see it. If you pardon someone to get yourself off the hook, that's a "corrupt" action. The constitution is not a statute that you might violate, but a larger covenant which you might offend (or, equally, that might protect you). Since the President is in charge of upholding the constitution and much of the constitution is about preventing corrupt acts or abuses of power, the pardon, in the case of Michael Flynn, is, the Mueller team is set to argue, unconstitutional. What's more, since there is an impeachment process in place—or there are impeachment resolutions before congress—and impeachment is the province of Congress, a pardon of a potential witness in this impeachment is an unconstitutional trampling on the separation of powers.

As the President, by nature and design, tries to claim aggressive new powers, the Mueller team, almost in equal proportion, is trying to limit the theory of Presidential power and, even, to criminalize an expansive exercise of those powers.

People who know and have worked with Mueller find it, at best, unexpected that this traditional by the book G-man would be pursuing such far-reaching legal theories. But one possible explanation, shared by many in the White House, is that Mueller is overly reliant on his staff—in face, is being led by his number two, Andrew Weissmann.

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From: paul krassner [redacted]
Sent: 12/3/2018 4:59:38 PM
To: Nancy Cain [redacted]
Subject: Fwd

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: "The Daily Beast: AM Cheat Sheet" <emails@thedailybeast.com>
Subject: **Michelle Obama Halts Book Tour for Bush Funeral**
Date: December 3, 2018 at 4:21:57 AM PST
To: [redacted]

UGH

Alan Dershowitz: Yes, I Am Still Jeffrey Epstein's Lawyer

Lawyer Alan Dershowitz has said that he still represents convicted pedophile Jeffrey Epstein, who pleaded guilty to soliciting underage sexual partners whom he initially recruited as masseurs. Dershowitz, 80, told Axios that Epstein "has called me a couple of times about legal issues, because I'm still technically his lawyer," adding, "I haven't had any social, or any other kind of contact [but] you never stop being a person's lawyer." Dershowitz told Axios that Epstein lent his family his Palm Beach, Florida, house and that he received a "therapeutic massage with an old old Russian" there, but he'd had no idea "anything improper had even taken place in that house." While he was allegedly raping teenage girls, Epstein cultivated relationships with a global elite: Bill Clinton flew on Epstein's plane, nicknamed the "Lolita Express," numerous times; Prince Andrew's exwife borrowed money from him; and Donald Trump praised him as a "terrific guy."

The
Shimon Post
Presidential News Bulletin

29 May, 2011

Article 1.	NYT **Pay Attention** Thomas L. Friedman
Article 2.	NY Daily News **President Obama has right goals on Israeli-Palestinian peace, but strategy already backfiring** Alan Dershowitz
Article 3.	Al-Ahram Weekly **Who will win in September?** Abdel-Moneim Said
Article 4.	Asia Times **Show goes on in Iraq's political circus** Sami Moubayed
Article 5.	TIME **The Optimism Bias** Tali Sharot

Article 1.

NYT

Pay Attention

Thomas L. Friedman

May 28, 2011—Cairo -- I had some time to kill at the Cairo airport the other day so I rummaged through the “Egyptian Treasures” shop. I didn’t care much for the King Tut paper weights and ashtrays but was intrigued by a stuffed camel, which, if you squeezed its hump, emitted a camel honk. When I turned it over to see where it was manufactured, it read: “Made in China.” Now that they have decided to put former President Hosni Mubarak on trial, I hope Egyptians add to his indictment that he presided for 30 years over a country where nearly half the population lives on $2 day and 20 percent are unemployed while it is importing low-wage manufactured goods — a stuffed camel, no less — from China.

That’s an embarrassment for Mubarak and America, which has donated some $30 billion in aid to modernize Egypt’s economy over the last 30 years — and President Obama just promised a couple billion more. Egypt’s economy has nose-dived since the uprising, and the new government really does need the money to stay afloat. But I only hope that Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton understand that right now — right this second — Egypt needs something more from Washington than money: quiet, behind-the-scenes engagement with Egypt’s ruling generals over how to complete the transition to democracy here.

Here’s why. After the ouster of Mubarak in February, his presidential powers were shifted to a military council, led by the defense minister. It’s an odd situation, or as the Egyptian novelist Alaa Al Aswany, author of “The Yacoubian Building,” put it to me: “We have had a revolution here that succeeded — but is not in power. So the goals of the revolution are being applied by an agent, the army, which I think is sincere in wanting to do the right things, but it is not by nature revolutionary."

To their credit, the Egyptian generals moved swiftly to put in place a pathway to democracy: elections for a new Parliament were set for September; this Parliament will then oversee the writing of a new Constitution, and then a new civilian president will be elected.

Sounds great on paper, and it was endorsed by a referendum, but there's one big problem: The Tahrir Square revolution was a largely spontaneous, bottom-up affair. It was not led by any particular party or leader. Parties are just now being formed. If elections for the Parliament are held in September, the only group in Egypt with a real party network ready to roll is the one that has been living underground and is now suddenly legal: the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood.

"Liberal people are feeling some concerns that they made the revolution and the Muslim Brotherhood can now take it. This is not true," Esam el-Erian, one of the party's leaders, insisted to me.

But that is exactly what the urban, secular moderates, who actually did spearhead the Tahrir revolt, fear. They are only now forming parties and trying to build networks that can reach the millions of traditional Egyptians living in the countryside and persuade them to vote for a reform agenda and not just: "Islam is the answer."

"The liberal parties need more time to organize," said Naguib Sawiris, an Egyptian billionaire who's heading the best organized of the liberal parties, and is urging all the liberal groups to run under a single banner and not divide their vote.

If elections happen in September and the Muslim Brotherhood wins a plurality it could have an inordinate impact on writing Egypt's first truly free Constitution and could inject restrictions on women, alcohol, dress, and the relations between mosque and state. "You will have an unrepresentative Parliament writing an unrepresentative Constitution," argued Mohamed ElBaradei, the former international atomic energy czar who is running for president on a reform platform. "Because the Muslim Brotherhood is ready, they want elections first," adds Osama Ghazali Harb, another reform party leader. "We as secular forces prefer to have some time to consolidate our parties. We must thank the army for the role it played. But it was our revolution, not a coup d'état. ... If there are fair elections, the Muslim Brotherhood will only get 20 percent."

Free elections are rare in the Arab world, so when they happen, everybody tries to vote — not only the residents of that country. You can be sure money will flow in here from Saudi Arabia and Qatar to support the Muslim Brotherhood.

America, though, cannot publicly intervene in the Egyptian election debate. It would only undermine the reformers, who have come so far, so fast, on their own and alienate the Egyptian generals. That said, though, it is important that senior U.S. officials engage quietly with the generals and encourage them to take heed of the many Egyptian voices that are raising legitimate concerns about a premature runoff.

In short, the Egyptian revolution is not over. It has left the dramatic street phase and is now in the seemingly boring but utterly vital phase of deciding who gets to write the rules for the new Egypt. And how Egypt evolves will impact the whole Arab world. I just hope the Obama team is paying attention. This is so much more important than Libya.

Article 2.

NY Daily News

President Obama has right goals on Israeli-Palestinian peace, but strategy already backfiring

Alan Dershowitz

May 27th 2011 -- Now that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is back in Israel and President Obama is traveling around Europe, it is time to assess the effect their dueling speeches have had on the prospects for peace.

There is one factual conclusion on which the Israelis and the Palestinians completely agree: following President Obama's recent speech — and repeated explanation of it — on the Israel-Palestine conflict, we are further than ever from peace negotiations. Obama has managed, in one fell swoop, to harden the positions of both sides and to create distrust of him by Israelis and Palestinians alike.

My criticism of the President is not directed at whether he is pro-Israel or anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian or anti-Palestinian. In fact, I believe that his actions have not been motivated by any antagonism toward the Jewish state. He simply does not understand the dynamics of Middle East negotiation. I am disappointed in him not because I support Israel (which I do), but because I support peace based on a two-state solution. I agree with Obama about his ends, while disagreeing about his means.

Indeed there is little in the content of the President's statements with which I disagree. Rather, it is with his negotiating strategy, his constant need to explain himself, and his utter tone-deafness to the music, as distinguished from the lyrics.

The President has asked the Israelis to agree to negotiate new borders based on the 1967 lines, with land swaps. But he did so without asking the Palestinians to agree to drop their demand that millions of so-called "refugees" — those who fled or left Israel during the 1947-49 Arab attacks against the Jewish state, and their descendents — be allowed to "return" to Israel. New borders would be meaningless if this demographic bomb were to be dropped on Israel, turning it into yet another Arab state with a Palestinian majority.

Everyone knows, as a matter of reality, that this is not going to happen, just as everyone knows that Israel will eventually give up most of the West Bank as it did the Gaza Strip. But it is critical to any successful negotiation that these two issues – borders and "the right to return" – be negotiated together. The Israelis will never agree to generous borders for the Palestinians unless they are assured that their identity as the nation-state of the Jewish people will not be demographically undercut by "the right of return." And the Palestinians will never give up their emotionally charged right of return unless that is an unambiguous prerequisite to achieving statehood with generous borders. The Obama strategy — to demand generous borders from Israel first and leave the right of return to subsequent negotiations — is a prescription for stalemate.

The President also helped cement the status quo by expressing his agreement with Israel's refusal to negotiate with a Palestinian government that includes Hamas — unless that terrorist group first renounces violence, accepts Israel and supports prior agreements. The current position of the Israeli government is to invite the Palestinian authority to begin negotiations now, but to insist, before any final agreement is reached, that Hamas either accept the President's current conditions or be excluded from the government. By going further than the Israeli government — by seeming to justify an Israeli refusal even to begin negotiations with the Palestinian Authority until Hamas accepts those conditions or the Palestinian Authority rejects Hamas — the President has made it harder for the Netanyahu government to resist the demands of Israeli extremists who oppose all negotiations.

Netanyahu originally planned to come to Washington with a generous peace proposal to entice the Palestinians back to the negotiating table. But Obama painted him into a corner and made him change his script by notifying him, as he was about to board his plane, that the President was going to call for Israel to return to its 1949-1967 lines, without also calling for the Palestinians to give up their right of return. By thus preempting the prime minister, he forced him to become more defensive of Israel's bargaining positions and less willing to offer specific, generous concessions. The result was a powerful speech in defense of Israel by Netanyahu, an overwhelmingly positive response from Congress and a movement away from peace negotiations.

All in all, the President's well-intentioned efforts to jump-start the peace process have backfired, not so much because he favors one side over the other, but because of the ham-handedness of his negotiation strategy. A negotiator or mediator whose statements move the parties further away from the negotiating table than they were before he spoke deserves a failing grade in the science of negotiation.

What the President should have done is to insist that both parties immediately agree to sit down and negotiate without any preconditions.

It's not too late. But it will take yet another "explanation" of what President Obama really meant in his ill-advised speech.

Dershowitz's most recent novel is "The Trials of Zion."

Article 3.

Al-Ahram Weekly

Who will win in September?

Abdel-Moneim Said

26 May - 1 June 2001 -- The revolution will continue to heave and surge and rage though various forms of clashes and demonstrations against conditions of the past and of the present. It will also continue to swing between the reaffirmation of national unity and the solidarity of "the crescent and the cross" and the propensity towards sectarian strife and its attendant confrontations, clashes, accusations and conflicting theories as to whether this phenomenon stems from a long festering infection in Egyptian political culture or to the "remnants" of the National Democratic Party and state security apparatus which, although dissolved and disbanded, are nevertheless suspected of engineering appalling incidents of violence and destruction.

Such a state of turmoil is typical of a revolution that is still in a state of revolution. However it will diminish and eventually cease as institutions of government coalesce and reassert the legitimacy of the state, thereby delegitimising revolution. Recall how the revolution cooled following the referendum over the constitutional amendments. Nevertheless, we also must note that as the spirit of revolution subsided, the spirit of sectarian strife and other doctrinal discords began to flare. Simultaneously, the leadership that had played the key role in igniting the revolution and bringing down the old regime seems to have faded from the scene or lost some of its glimmer. Curiously, while it was primarily young men and women who carried the revolution through its initial thrust and its first major victory, they have since been succeeded by much older people, some well into their 80s. Mohamed El-Baradei may merit a place among the ranks of the revolutionary youth, having been one of the first to call for the downfall of the old regime and to advocate less conventional means of opposition. Yet it is odd that the field is now dominated people and groups that, in the past, had reached accommodations with the old regime, even if they had been in the opposition. In fact, it is precisely these circles that have provided most of the presidential candidates who are currently flitting from one press interview to the next.

All this will enter another phase with the legislative elections in September, at which time we will be able to speak of actual popular representation. Until then, every candidate, party and group will claim that they speak for "the people", "the masses," and "the nation", and they will continue to do so in increasingly strident tones all the way to the polls, which will ultimately sort day from night.

One naturally wonders who will come out ahead in the forthcoming electoral battle, which will probably be one of the most crucial moments in Egyptian history. Certainly, the general lay of the field is already clear. It is characterised by two main orientations, one religious, the other secularist. The Muslim Brotherhood, represented by its Freedom and Justice Party, leads the former camp, which also consists of Al-Gamaa Al-Islamiya, the Egyptian Jihad and the various shades of Salafis. They are likely to win the sympathy of quite a few Sufi orders as well as a number of the old NDP apparatchiks who often rallied against the Ahmed Nazif government in the pre-November 2010 parliament. The other camp, which is championed by a broad front of the movements that spearheaded the revolution and similar coalitions, is beginning to coalesce in political party form, although there is little to suggest that their parties will be familiar enough to the public or sufficiently prepared by election time. Nevertheless, they will be joined by Egyptian Christians, most of the liberal and leftist parties, such as the Wafd, the Nasserist Party and the Tagammu, as well as by a large collection of NGOs and other representatives of civil society.

To some extent, these general orientations shaped the stances, whether for or against, in the referendum on the constitutional amendments, which drew the first clear lines in the post-25 January political map. In that referendum, the first camp obtained 77.2 per cent of the vote versus 22.8 per cent for the second. However, it is important to bear in mind that, in this referendum, a "critical mass" of voters sided with the first camp because they felt that the amendments bill offered the clearest path to the transition from revolutionary legitimacy to the legitimacy of the established state, which is to say to the return to normalcy that Egyptians desperately yearned for at the time. But this sentiment will no longer be a major factor now that this wish has come true and elections are at hand in September. Therefore, it remains open which way this key group of voters will swing in those elections, the results of which will be crucial to the subsequent selection of the constitutional committee and then to the choice of president.

Several factors will be instrumental in determining the impact of the "critical mass" of Egyptian voters. Foremost among them will be their turnout at the polls. Only 41 per cent of the 45 million eligible voters took part in the referendum. This relatively low figure could be increased by increasing the number of polling stations, of which there are only 44,000 at present, a factor that has long deterred all but the most committed from braving long voting queues. Secondly, although judicial supervision will now guarantee the integrity of the polls and ensure that people's votes really do count, the proportional electoral list system will yield very different kinds of results than those produced by the individual candidate system. A third critical factor will be campaign financing. Election campaigns and buying television air-time in particular have become extraordinarily expensive. However, there is a huge discrepancy in the financial capacities of the two camps. The secular camp can not even dream of matching the financial resources of the Muslim Brotherhood and the remnants of the NDP. Finally, much will depend on the ability of the rivals to win public support by means of clear and succinct electoral platforms that truly address people's hopes and aspirations.

On the basis of the foregoing criteria and circumstances as they currently stand, the "critical mass" is likely to swing towards the religious camp, with its better organisational, mobilisational and financial capacities. In addition, even if that camp truly relinquished the slogan, "Islam is the solution," it still possesses a remarkable talent for swaying public opinion through emotive and misleading oversimplifications and attacks on the opposing viewpoint. For example, during the referendum on the constitutional amendments, it centred its propaganda around Article 2, claiming that a "No" vote would negate the Islamic character of the state. Although the proposed constitutional amendments in the referendum came nowhere near this article, the tactic worked marvellously, and helped yield this camp's desired result.

The secularists, therefore, have their work cut out for them. They will need to expand their base of support considerably and to try to use the proportional list system to their best advantage. They will also have to enlist the moral and financial support of the business community. Finally, they must couch their liberal secularist message in a simpler and graspable language that will capture the public's attention. Their ability to rise to this challenge will determine the future of Egypt, the Egyptian constitution and the nature of its government. The more effective they are the lower is the probability that the country's first free and fair parliamentary elections will be its last.

Article 4.

Asia Times

Show goes on in Iraq's political circus

Sami Moubayed

May 28, 2011 -- DAMASCUS - Iraq has been absent from the world's radar since upheaval rocked the Arab world in January, toppling the regimes in Tunisia and Egypt and sending shockwaves through Bahrain, Libya, Yemen and Syria.

A closer look at the political scene in Baghdad, however, shows that all is not well. Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki is in hot water, like many of his Arab counterparts - and his government might collapse soon, if not through street power, then perhaps through the shattering of the delicate balance in the upper echelons of Baghdad.

Last week Maliki hinted that he may resign and call new elections, just five months after forming his second cabinet. Two months ago, large and angry demonstrations broke out in Baghdad, inspired by the Arab Spring, chanting against corruption, poor government services, and the prime minister.

Among other things, he was accused of mismanagement of public office, abuse of power, authoritarianism and sectarianism. Maliki promised immediate action within the next 100 days. That deadline expires in July and there is nothing on the horizon to prove that the prime minister is willing, or capable, of living up to his promises.

There is also a daily barrage of accusations against him by his predecessor Iyad Allawi, who is backed by Saudi Arabia and other Arab heavyweights who are eager to topple Maliki - seen as an extension of Iranian influence in the Arab and Muslim world.

Iraq remains sharply divided between the prime minister and Allawi. The top seats in the ministries of defense and the interior are still vacant, and Maliki still denies Allawi the right to name the minister of defense. Even worse, he personally still controls the two jobs in a caretaker capacity, and seems in no hurry to give them up any time soon.

On Tuesday, Allawi nominated two people for the Defense Ministry, ex-army officers Nouri al-Duleimy and Abdul-Majid Abdul Latif, but neither of them to date has been accepted by the prime minister. At a recent press conference, Maliki accused his rival of sectarianism and of breaching an agreement between them, hammered out last November.

Then, Allawi sluggishly agreed to accept Maliki as premier, although the latter controlled only 89 out of 325 seats in parliament whereas Allawi's secular National Iraqi List commanded a slim majority of 91 seats. Instead, Allawi would be given a new job, which rivals, and in some cases theoretically challenges, that of the prime minister - chairman of the National Council for Strategic Policies (NCSP). That post, six months down the road, is still nowhere close to being formed. Allawi complains that his coalition is being treated "not as a partner but as a participant" in the Maliki government.

Allawi accepted the novel post with a grain of salt. It took heavy lobbying by Saudi Arabia, and a phone call from US President Barack Obama, to convince him to settle for the NCSP, along with assurances that the body would have real powers, rather than ceremonial duties.

The new council was supposed to operate under the umbrella of the Iraqi executive branch and replace the National Security Council, mandated to monitor government ministers and make sure that they carry out their duties according to the constitution. Additionally, the council was supposed to have several branches: (domestic) political affairs, foreign policy, economic and monetary affairs, security and military affairs, energy, oil and gas, electricity, water and environmental affairs.

The council would have a president, or secretary general, an entire staff and premises allocated by the Iraqi government in Baghdad. The council will also have its own budget, which is yet to be determined but will equal that of the premiership, the parliamentary speaker and the presidency. Allawi will reportedly be entitled to approximately 100 advisers and two military units to protect him and the council from terrorist operations.

Because of so much deliberate delay, Allawi recently announced that he was no longer interested in the offer, and that he too would back out on his agreement with Maliki and call for early elections.

If that happens, there is no telling what kind of vacuum will emerge in Iraq and who will fill it, especially as Arab countries have too much on their plate at this stage to focus on Iraq.

Theoretically, with Saudi Arabia focused on the situation in Bahrain and Syria occupied by internal problems, the only country willing and able to do the job is Iran. All eyes are now focused on Iraqi Kurdistan President Masoud al-Barazani, who has said he will launch a new initiative to bridge the gap between Maliki and Allawi.

A 15-man committee has been formed to conduct shuttle diplomacy between the two leaders, under the auspices of Barazani, and to date they have made no contacts with any of the Arab countries neighboring Iraq, or with the Iranians. Last October, Barazani's name graced a deal, known as the Irbil Agreement, where all parties agreed to form a national partnership government. Under the agreement, Maliki and President Jalal Talabani would retain their posts, while Allawi would get to chair the NCSP.

The real problem facing Iraq today, and explaining Maliki's delay, is fear of what the NCSP will mean for Iraq once both Maliki and Allawi are out of office. The November agreement did not state whether the council would permanently be under the control of

Allawi's Iraqiya bloc, or whether different parties, or sects, would rotate within its leadership in future years.

Iraqis need to decide whether the council's leader will always be a Shi'ite, given that Allawi is Shi'ite, or whether Sunnis, Kurds and Christians will be entitled to compete for the post. If the new council will have powers equal to that of the prime minister, will it become part of the sectarian division of power in Iraq? Will it become a permanent seat that is given to the "second runner up" in any parliamentary election? And what will its status become if Allawi becomes prime minister one day?

Would it stay with Allawi's team or will it go to the "defeated" coalition in parliament? If this is the case, it needs to be said, either in writing or gentleman's agreement; especially that in today's case, Allawi's team is not a minority in parliament, but actually, the coalition with the largest number of seats.

Sami Moubayed is a university professor, historian, and editor-in-chief of Forward Magazine in Syria.

Article 5.

TIME

The Optimism Bias

Tali Sharot

May. 28, 2011 -- We like to think of ourselves as rational creatures. We watch our backs, weigh the odds, pack an umbrella. But both neuroscience and social science suggest that we are more optimistic than realistic. On average, we expect things to turn out better than they wind up being. People hugely underestimate their chances of getting divorced, losing their job or being diagnosed with cancer; expect their children to be extraordinarily gifted; envision themselves achieving more than their peers; and overestimate their likely life span (sometimes by 20 years or more).

The belief that the future will be much better than the past and present is known as the optimism bias. It abides in every race, region and socioeconomic bracket. Schoolchildren playing when-I-grow-up are rampant optimists, but so are grownups: a 2005 study found that adults over 60 are just as likely to see the glass half full as young adults.

You might expect optimism to erode under the tide of news about violent conflicts, high unemployment, tornadoes and floods and all the threats and failures that shape human life. Collectively we can grow pessimistic — about the direction of our country or the ability of our leaders to improve education and reduce crime. But private optimism, about our personal future, remains incredibly resilient. A survey conducted in 2007 found that while 70% thought families in general were less successful than in their parents' day, 76% of respondents were optimistic about the future of their own family.

Overly positive assumptions can lead to disastrous miscalculations — make us less likely to get health checkups, apply sunscreen or open a savings account, and more likely to bet the farm on a bad investment. But the bias also protects and inspires us: it keeps us moving forward rather than to the nearest high-rise ledge. Without optimism, our ancestors might never have ventured far from their tribes and we might all be cave dwellers, still huddled together and dreaming of light and heat.

To make progress, we need to be able to imagine alternative realities — better ones — and we need to believe that we can achieve them. Such faith helps motivate us to pursue our goals. Optimists in general work longer hours and tend to earn more. Economists at Duke University found that optimists even save more. And although they are not less likely to divorce, they are more likely to remarry — an act that is, as Samuel Johnson wrote, the triumph of hope over experience. Even if that better future is often an illusion, optimism has clear benefits in the present. Hope keeps our minds at ease, lowers stress and improves physical health. Researchers studying heart-disease patients found that optimists were more likely than nonoptimistic patients to take vitamins, eat low-fat diets and exercise, thereby reducing their overall coronary risk. A study of cancer patients revealed that pessimistic patients under the age of 60 were more likely to die within eight months than nonpessimistic patients of the same initial health, status and age.

In fact, a growing body of scientific evidence points to the conclusion that optimism may be hardwired by evolution into the human brain. The science of optimism, once scorned as an intellectually suspect province of pep rallies and smiley faces, is opening a new window on the workings of human consciousness. What it shows could fuel a revolution in psychology, as the field comes to grips with accumulating evidence that our brains aren't just stamped by the past. They are constantly being shaped by the future.

Hardwired for Hope?

I would have liked to tell you that my work on optimism grew out of a keen interest in the positive side of human nature. The reality is that I stumbled onto the brain's innate optimism by accident. After living through Sept. 11, 2001, in New York City, I had set out to investigate people's memories of the terrorist attacks. I was intrigued by the fact that people felt their memories were as accurate as a videotape, while often they were filled with errors. A survey conducted around the country showed that 11 months after the attacks, individuals' recollections of their experience that day were consistent with their initial accounts (given in September 2011) only 63% of the time. They were also poor at remembering details of the event, such as the names of the airline carriers. Where did these mistakes in memory come from?

Scientists who study memory proposed an intriguing answer: memories are susceptible to inaccuracies partly because the neural system responsible for remembering episodes from our past might not have evolved for memory alone. Rather, the core function of the memory system could in fact be to imagine the future — to enable us to prepare for what has yet to come. The system is not designed to perfectly replay past events, the researchers claimed. It is designed to flexibly construct future scenarios in our minds. As a result, memory also ends up being a reconstructive process, and occasionally, details are deleted and others inserted. To test this, I decided to record the brain activity of volunteers while they imagined future events — not events on the scale of 9/11, but events in their everyday lives — and compare those results with the pattern I observed when the same individuals recalled past events. But something unexpected occurred. Once people started imagining the future, even the most banal life events seemed to take a dramatic turn for the better. Mundane scenes brightened with upbeat details as if polished by a Hollywood script doctor. You might think that imagining a future haircut would be pretty dull. Not at all. Here is what one of my participants pictured: "I was getting my hair cut to donate to Locks of Love [a charity that fashions wigs for young cancer patients]. It had taken me years to grow it out, and my friends were all there to help celebrate. We went to my favorite hair place in Brooklyn and then went to lunch at our favorite restaurant."

I asked another participant to imagine a plane ride. "I imagined the takeoff — my favorite! — and then the eight-hour-long nap in between and then finally landing in Krakow and clapping for the pilot for providing the safe voyage," she responded. No tarmac delays, no screaming babies. The world, only a year or two into the future, was a wonderful place to live in.

If all our participants insisted on thinking positively when it came to what lay in store for them personally, what does that tell us about how our brains are wired? Is the human tendency for optimism a consequence of the architecture of our brains?

The Human Time Machine

To think positively about our prospects, we must first be able to imagine ourselves in the future. Optimism starts with what may be the most extraordinary of human talents: mental time travel, the ability to move back and forth through time and space in one's mind. Although most of us take this ability for granted, our capacity to envision a different time and place is in fact critical to our survival.

It is easy to see why cognitive time travel was naturally selected for over the course of evolution. It allows us to plan ahead, to save food and resources for times of scarcity and to endure hard work in anticipation of a future reward. It also lets us forecast how our current behavior may influence future generations. If we were not able to picture the world in a hundred years or more, would we be concerned with global warming? Would we attempt to live healthily? Would we have children?

While mental time travel has clear survival advantages, conscious foresight came to humans at an enormous price — the understanding that somewhere in the future, death awaits. Ajit Varki, a biologist at the University of California, San Diego, argues that the awareness of mortality on its own would have led evolution to a dead end. The despair would have interfered with our daily function, bringing the activities needed for survival to a stop. The only way conscious mental time travel could have arisen over the course of evolution is if it emerged together with irrational optimism. Knowledge of death had to emerge side by side with the persistent ability to picture a bright future.

The capacity to envision the future relies partly on the hippocampus, a brain structure that is crucial to memory. Patients with damage to their hippocampus are unable to recollect the past, but they are also unable to construct detailed images of future scenarios. They appear to be stuck in time. The rest of us constantly move back and forth in time; we might think of a conversation we had with our spouse yesterday and then immediately of our dinner plans for later tonight. But the brain doesn't travel in time in a random fashion. It tends to engage in specific types of thoughts. We consider how well our kids will do in life, how we will obtain that sought-after job, afford that house on the hill and find perfect love. We imagine our team winning the crucial game, look forward to an enjoyable night on the town or picture a winning streak at the blackjack table. We also worry about losing loved ones, failing at our job or dying in a terrible plane crash — but research shows that most of us spend less time mulling over negative outcomes than we do over positive ones. When we do contemplate defeat and heartache, we tend to focus on how these can be avoided. Findings from a study I conducted a few years ago with prominent neuroscientist Elizabeth Phelps suggest that directing our thoughts of the future toward the positive is a result of our frontal cortex's communicating with subcortical regions deep in our brain. The frontal cortex, a large area behind the forehead, is the most recently evolved part of the brain. It is larger in humans than in other primates and is critical for many complex human functions such as language and goal setting.

Using a functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scanner, we recorded brain activity in volunteers as they imagined specific events that might occur to them in the future. Some of the events that I asked them to imagine were desirable (a great date or winning a large sum of money), and some were undesirable (losing a wallet, ending a romantic relationship). The volunteers reported that their images of sought-after events were richer and more vivid than those of unwanted events.

This matched the enhanced activity we observed in two critical regions of the brain: the amygdala, a small structure deep in the brain that is central to the processing of emotion, and the rostral anterior cingulate cortex (rACC), an area of the frontal cortex that modulates emotion and motivation. The rACC acts like a traffic conductor, enhancing the flow of positive emotions and associations. The more optimistic a person was, the higher the activity in these regions was while imagining positive future events (relative to negative ones) and the stronger the connectivity between the two structures. The findings were particularly fascinating because these precise regions — the amygdala and the rACC — show abnormal activity in depressed individuals. While healthy people expect the future to be slightly better than it ends up being, people with severe depression tend to be pessimistically biased: they expect things to be worse than they end up being. People with mild depression are relatively accurate when predicting future events. They see the world as it is. In other words, in the absence of a neural mechanism that generates unrealistic optimism, it is possible all humans would be mildly depressed.

Can Optimism Change Reality?

The problem with pessimistic expectations, such as those of the clinically depressed, is that they have the power to alter the future; negative expectations shape outcomes in a negative way. How do expectations change reality?

To answer this question, my colleague, cognitive neuroscientist Sara Bengtsson, devised an experiment in which she manipulated positive and negative expectations of students while their brains were scanned and tested their performance on cognitive tasks. To induce expectations of success, she primed college students with words such as smart, intelligent and clever just before asking them to perform a test. To induce expectations of failure, she primed them with words like stupid and ignorant. The students performed better after being primed with an affirmative message.

Examining the brain-imaging data, Bengtsson found that the students' brains responded differently to the mistakes they made depending on whether they were primed with the word clever or the word stupid. When the mistake followed positive words, she observed enhanced activity in the anterior medial part of the prefrontal cortex (a region that is involved in self-reflection and recollection). However, when the participants were primed with the word stupid, there was no heightened activity after a wrong answer. It appears that after being primed with the word stupid, the brain expected to do poorly and did not show signs of surprise or conflict when it made an error. A brain that doesn't expect good results lacks a signal telling it, "Take notice — wrong answer!" These brains will fail to learn from their mistakes and are less likely to improve over time. Expectations become self-fulfilling by altering our performance and actions, which ultimately affects what happens in the future. Often, however, expectations simply transform the way we perceive the world without altering reality itself. Let me give you an example. While writing these lines, my friend calls. He is at Heathrow Airport waiting to get on a plane to Austria for a skiing holiday. His plane has been delayed for three hours already, because of snowstorms at his destination. "I guess this is both a good and bad thing," he says. Waiting at the airport is not pleasant, but he quickly concludes that snow today means better skiing conditions tomorrow. His brain works to match the unexpected misfortune of being stuck at the airport to its eager anticipation of a fun getaway.

A canceled flight is hardly tragic, but even when the incidents that befall us are the type of horrific events we never expected to encounter, we automatically seek evidence confirming that our misfortune is a blessing in disguise. No, we did not anticipate losing our job, being ill or getting a divorce, but when these incidents occur, we search for the upside. These experiences mature us, we think. They may lead to more fulfilling jobs and stable relationships in the future. Interpreting a misfortune in this way allows us to conclude that our sunny expectations were correct after all — things did work out for the best.

Silver Linings

How do we find the silver lining in storm clouds? To answer that, my colleagues — renowned neuroscientist Ray Dolan and neurologist Tamara Shiner — and I instructed volunteers in the fMRI scanner to visualize a range of medical conditions, from broken bones to Alzheimer's, and rate how bad they imagined these conditions to be. Then we asked them: If you had to endure one of the following, which would you rather have — a broken leg or a broken arm? Heartburn or asthma? Finally, they rated all the conditions again. Minutes after choosing one particular illness out of many, the volunteers suddenly found that the chosen illness was less intimidating. A broken leg, for example, may have been thought of as "terrible" before choosing it over some other malady. However, after choosing it, the subject would find a silver lining: "With a broken leg, I will be able to lie in bed watching TV, guilt-free." In our study, we also found that people perceived adverse events more positively if they had experienced them in the past. Recording brain activity while these reappraisals took place revealed that highlighting the positive within the negative involves, once again, a tête-à-tête between the frontal cortex and subcortical regions processing emotional value. While contemplating a mishap, like a broken leg, activity in the rACC modulated signals in a region called the striatum that conveyed the good and bad of the event in question — biasing activity in a positive direction.

It seems that our brain possesses the philosopher's stone that enables us to turn lead into gold and helps us bounce back to normal levels of well-being. It is wired to place high value on the events we encounter and put faith in its own decisions. This is true not only when forced to choose between two adverse options (such as selecting between two courses of medical treatment) but also when we are selecting between desirable alternatives. Imagine you need to pick between two equally attractive job offers. Making a decision may be a tiring, difficult ordeal, but once you make up your mind, something miraculous happens. Suddenly — if you are like most people — you view the chosen offer as better than you did before and conclude that the other option was not that great after all. According to social psychologist Leon Festinger, we re-evaluate the options postchoice to reduce the tension that arises from making a difficult decision between equally desirable options.

In a brain-imaging study I conducted with Ray Dolan and Benedetto De Martino in 2009, we asked subjects to imagine going on vacation to 80 different destinations and rate how happy they thought they would be in each place. We then asked them to select one destination from two choices that they had rated exactly the same. Would you choose Paris over Brazil? Finally, we asked them to imagine and rate all the destinations again. Seconds after picking between two destinations, people rated their selected destination higher than before and rated the discarded choice lower than before.

The brain-imaging data revealed that these changes were happening in the caudate nucleus, a cluster of nerve cells that is part of the striatum. The caudate has been shown to process rewards and signal their expectation. If we believe we are about to be given a paycheck or eat a scrumptious chocolate cake, the caudate acts as an announcer broadcasting to other parts of the brain, "Be ready for something good." After we receive the reward, the value is quickly updated. If there is a bonus in the paycheck, this higher value will be reflected in striatal activity. If the cake is disappointing, the decreased value will be tracked so that next time our expectations will be lower.

In our experiment, after a decision was made between two destinations, the caudate nucleus rapidly updated its signal. Before choosing, it might signal "thinking of something great" while imagining both Greece and Thailand. But after choosing Greece, it now broadcast "thinking of something remarkable!" for Greece and merely "thinking of something good" for Thailand. True, sometimes we regret our decisions; our choices can turn out to be disappointing. But on balance, when you make a decision — even if it is a hypothetical choice — you will value it more and expect it to bring you pleasure.

This affirmation of our decisions helps us derive heightened pleasure from choices that might actually be neutral. Without this, our lives might well be filled with second-guessing. Have we done the right thing? Should we change our mind? We would find ourselves stuck, overcome by indecision and unable to move forward.

The Puzzle of Optimism

While the past few years have seen important advances in the neuroscience of optimism, one enduring puzzle remained. How is it that people maintain this rosy bias even when information challenging our upbeat forecasts is so readily available? Only recently have we been able to decipher this mystery, by scanning the brains of people as they process both positive and negative information about the future. The findings are striking: when people learn, their neurons faithfully encode desirable information that can enhance optimism but fail at incorporating unexpectedly undesirable information. When we hear a success story like Mark Zuckerberg's, our brains take note of the possibility that we too may become immensely rich one day. But hearing that the odds of divorce are almost 1 in 2 tends not to make us think that our own marriages may be destined to fail. Why would our brains be wired in this way? It is tempting to speculate that optimism was selected by evolution precisely because, on balance, positive expectations enhance the odds of survival. Research findings that optimists live longer and are healthier, plus the fact that most humans display optimistic biases — and emerging data that optimism is linked to specific genes — all strongly support this hypothesis. Yet optimism is also irrational and can lead to unwanted outcomes. The question then is, How can we remain hopeful — benefiting from the fruits of optimism — while at the same time guarding ourselves from its pitfalls?

I believe knowledge is key. We are not born with an innate understanding of our biases. The brain's illusions have to be identified by careful scientific observation and controlled experiments and then communicated to the rest of us. Once we are made aware of our optimistic illusions, we can act to protect ourselves. The good news is that awareness rarely shatters the illusion. The glass remains half full. It is possible, then, to strike a balance, to believe we will stay healthy, but get medical insurance anyway; to be certain the sun will shine, but grab an umbrella on our way out — just in case.

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Sharot is a research fellow at University College London's Wellcome Trust Centre for Neuroimaging

From: G Maxwell [redacted]
Sent: 1/11/2015 1:25:56 PM
To: J Jep [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fw:

THE TERRAMAR PROJECT
FACEBOOK
TWITTER
G+
PINTEREST
INSTAGRAM
PLEDGE
THE DAILY CATCH

From: Philip Barden <[redacted]>
Sent: Sunday, 11 January 2015 05:27
To: <[redacted]>
Cc: G Maxwell
Subject: Re:

Saying nothing is reputational suicide. Even if [redacted] is discredited by [redacted] people will know JE paid her off and believe G was complicate absent a credible denial.

Now it is reported that G engaged in direct abuse - as I feared would happen. Next reports to the authorities will be made.

It is necessary from a litigation, investigatory and reputational reason to issue a cogent denial.

I can see why JE doesn't want this as it may not suit him but he is already toast.

Philip

Sent from my iPhone

On 10 Jan 2015, at 18:42, '[redacted]'
[redacted]> wrote:

Had Geordie on the phone half a dozen times today.

He would have give us a better hearing than most I figure.

Strongly believe saying nothing is the wrong thing - especially as Dershowitz has a big piece coming in The Times on Monday.

Rest up and speak Monday
Best
Ross
Sent from my BlackBerry® wireless device

From: Philip Barden <[redacted]>
Date: Sat, 10 Jan 2015 18:27:12 +0000
To: G Maxwell[redacted]>
Cc: Ross Gow[redacted]>
Subject: Re:

All

I am back on line now.

I see the statement didn't go. Monday? Maybe tomorrow?

I will speak to Jeffery Epstein's lawyer but JE has a conflict with you and will want your silence as whilst you are being attacked there is less heat on him.

Either [redacted] is lying or not. If we let her lie without challenge then the lies become the reality and that may lead to you facing investigation. These are serious allegations and In the UK prosecuting people who face allegations of sex abuse is now common place and a lot of resources are focused on this.

We can't sit back and let you be a conspirator by silence.

Your are not guilty and must follow Dershowtiz line. He is a leading lawyer and he hasn't followed the don't say anything for fear of litigation. He has rightly called [redacted] bluff and shouted his innocence.

You have to stand up and deny the allegations or be branded guilty by association and that may lead to other investigations and worse.

I feel I am going around in circles.

I know what is right to do and that is to shout your innocence.

Try and get some rest. Call me tomorrow if you want anytime.

Speak to Deshowitz.

Don't allay yourself to JE as that is not the way to go.

Best

Philip

Sent from my iPhone

On 10 Jan 2015, at 16:02, "G Maxwell"
[redacted] wrote:

I am out of my depth to understanding defamation and other legal hazards and don't want to end up in a law suit

aimed at me from anyone if I can help it. Apparently even saying [redacted] is a lier has hazard! I have never been in a suit criminal or civil and want it to stay that way.
The US lawyers for the Jane Does are filling additional discovery motions and if I speak I open my self to being part of discovery apparently. I am trying to stay out of litigation and not have to employ lawyers for years as I get lost in US legal nightmare. I stand no legal risk currently on these old charges and civil suits against Jeffrey
We need to consult with US lawyers on any statement I make and the complaints too
Perhaps we make a statement of the legal risk of saying anything for potential defamation or something that prevents a full and frank detailed rebuttal + the press not being the place for that? Regardless, Philip plse call jeffrey lawyer and see what you can understand from him and pehaps craft something in conjunction with him?
Either way I think you need to speak to him to understand my risk so you can help me understand it - too may cooks in the kitchen and I can't make good decisions. Plse reach out to him today
+ I have already suffered such a terrible and painful loss over the last few days that I can't even see what life after press he'll even looks like - statements that don't address all just lead to more questions..what is my relationship to clinton ? Andrew on and on.
Let's rest till monday. I need head space

THE TERRAMAR PROJECT
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TWITTER
G+
PINTEREST
INSTAGRAM
PLEDGE
THE DAILY CATCH

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Devonshires Solicitors, 30 Finsbury Circus, London EC2M 7DT tel [redacted] fax [redacted]
[redacted]

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that there may be a time limit for bringing your complaint. You may also have the right to ask the Legal Ombudsman to consider your complaint at the end of the complaints process. Information on complaints to the Legal Ombudsman, including the details of strict time limits to bring a complaint, may be found at http://www.legalombudsman.org.uk.

The Devonshires Foundation is proud to support Action for Kids (reg. charity 1068841), Wide horizons (reg. charity 1105847), and Theatre Royal Stratford East (reg. charity 233801) during 2013/2014. Please consider the environment before printing this email.

Please consider the environment before printing this email.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/26/2010 6:41:25 PM
To: Robert D. Critton Jr. [redacted]; Jessica Cadwell [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein News Articles
Attachments: Epstein combined articles.pdf

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Jeffrey Epstein** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, Feb 26, 2010 at 10:01 AM
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein News Articles
To: "Alan M. Dershowitz" <[redacted]>, Martin Weinberg [redacted]>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: <[redacted]>
Date: Wed, Feb 24, 2010 at 5:53 AM
Subject: Fw: Epstein News Articles
To: jeevacation@gmail.com

-----Forwarded by Public Records/PalmBeach on 02/24/2010 05:53AM -----

To: [redacted]
From: Michael Reiter/PalmBeach
Date: 08/12/2008 09:33PM
Subject: Epstein News Articles

(See attached file: Epstein combined articles.pdf)

Joyce,

I am looking forward to meeting with you on Wednesday. Please find below (and attached as a PDF file), some background information for your reference. Thanks for agreeing to have this discussion.

Regards,
Mike

Palm Beach Post Editorial #1

He was over 50. And they were girls

By Elisa Cramer

HASH(0x5fa474)

Friday, August 04, 2006

If the women whom Palm Beach police say a part-time town resident invited to his home and paid for sex acts were, in fact, women, the solicitation charge against Jeffrey Epstein might feel more sufficient. But, according to police records, they weren't. He was over 50. And they were girls. 14. 15.16.17-year-old girls. That should count for something -

the difference between prostitution and pedophilia.

So, it is baffling that Mr. Epstein, who was indicted last month by a grand jury on one felony count of solicitation of prostitution, has not been charged, as Palm Beach police strenuously urged, with unlawful sex acts with a minor and lewd and lascivious molestation.

Conviction of crimes against minors would mean steeper penalties than the maximum five-year prison term Mr. Epstein faces if convicted of the single count of felony solicitation. It also would help carry a message of intolerance to perverts who prey on girls.

Prosecutors did not pursue charges against Mr. Epstein reflecting the age of the victims because they assumed a jury would view the girls not as victims but as promiscuous, untrustworthy, willing participants. The presumption is offensive.

Mr. Epstein, a 53-year-old Manhattan money manager who has hired Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz and defense attorney Jack Goldberger, has denied knowing how old the girls were. But police interviews with five alleged victims and 17 witnesses under oath, as well as phone messages, a high school transcript and other items that police found from searching Mr. Epstein's trash and 7,234-square-foot waterfront home, provide evidence that he knew the girls were teenagers.

One girl couldn't show up when Mr. Epstein wanted because she had soccer. Another time, Mr. Epstein had to wait for his "massage" session because the girl he wanted was still in class.

Why didn't State Attorney Barry Krischer let a jury decide whether to believe the teenagers - including a 16-year-old who went to Mr. Epstein's house to "work" in December 2004 after being asked whether she needed to make money for Christmas gifts?

Prosecutors gave greater weight to the details Mr. Dershowitz provided about the girls in an apparent effort to assail their character. Mr. Dershowitz pointed out to prosecutors that some of the teenagers had talked on myspace.com about marijuana and alcohol use.

The 20-year-old Royal Palm Beach woman who told police she recruited girls for Mr. Epstein has a Web page on myspace.com that features one girl using the name "Pimpin' Made EZ."

Although no charges of witness tampering have been filed, the parents of at least one of the teenage victims complained to police of being followed and intimidated by two men. Police determined that their vehicles were registered to two private investigators. Mr. Goldberger denied knowing anything about it.

Police also note in their reports that the state attorney's office offered Mr. Epstein a plea deal that would have placed him on probation for five years, allowing him ultimately to walk away with no criminal record at all.

I asked Mr. Krischer's spokesman, Mike Edmondson, why the case was referred to a grand jury instead of Mr. Epstein being charged and facing a trial before a jury. And shouldn't the victims' credibility be a factor to determine whether a crime's been committed, not whether a jury will convict? (After all, as Mr. Goldberger told The Palm Beach Post of Mr. Epstein, "He's never denied girls came to the house.")

Especially, I asked Mr. Edmondson to explain: Why shouldn't the public look at this case and think there are two kinds of justice - one for the wealthy and one for the rest of us?

Mr. Edmondson said he could not comment on the case because it is active, but on the latter point, he offered, for the sake of "philosophical debate": "Whether wealth buys a different standard of justice across the country ... the answer to that would, of course, be yes."

But in this case, he said, "regardless of the battery of attorneys, the outcome would be the same. Every issue that was debated in public was debated in our office before this case went to the grand jury."

In this case, it is not the victims' credibility but the state attorney's that deserves questioning.

Palm Beach Post Editorial #2

Massaging the system

Palm Beach Post Editorial

Thursday, August 10, 2006

Palm Beach police say their 11-month investigation shows that 53-year-old part-time town resident Jeffrey Epstein committed unlawful sex acts with and lewd and lascivious molestation on five underage girls. Defense attorney Jack Goldberger claims that his client, Jeffrey Epstein, had no idea that the untrained girls he hired for massages were minors.

The Palm Beach Count State Attorney's Office could have let a jury decide whom to believe. Instead, State Attorney Barry Krischer left the public to wonder whether the system tilted in favor of a wealthy, well-connected alleged perpetrator and against very young girls who are alleged victims of sex crimes.

Mr. Krischer took the unusual step of referring the case to a grand jury, which last month indicted Jeffrey Epstein on one felony count of solicitation of prostitution. That decision came after Harvard law Professor Alan Dershowitz met with prosecutors to undermine the credibility of the 14- to 17-yearold girls who charged that Mr. Epstein had paid them $200 to $300 to undress and massage him in his five-bedroom, 7 1/2 -bath home on the Intracoastal Waterway.

The girls, Mr. Dershowitz told prosecutors, had written on myspace.com about smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol. But if the girls have a credibility problem, what about Jeffrey Epstein? Mr. Goldberger, told The Post: "Mr. Epstein absolutely insisted anybody who came to his house be over the age of 18. How he verified that, I don't know." And prosecutors took him at his word?

Police collected evidence that refutes Jeffrey Epstein's defense. Police searched his home and garbage and found phone messages about the girls' school schedules and even a high school transcript, suggesting that Mr. Epstein at least knew that the girls were teenagers.

The state attorney's office has responded to criticism from Palm Beach police and others by noting the higher standard prosecutors face for conviction than law-enforcement officers do for arrest. But in this case, the state attorney bowed to the risk that a jury might look at both Jeffrey Epstein and the girls, and point fingers at both sides.

Even if the girls could be impugned as prostitutes, solicitation of a minor is a crime.

Former disc jockey and teacher Bruno Moore was charged with that Tuesday.
Investigators say the 34-year-old used the Internet - myspace.com - to recruit a 13-year old.
Police say Jeffrey Epstein used a 20-year-old woman who had a myspace.com account to recruit young girls. His actions were sleazy. It would have been good to ask a jury just how criminal they were.

Palm Beach Post Editorial #3

Spare us the outrage

Wednesday, February 13, 2008

An 11-month police investigation led to an indictment on one felony charge of solicitation of prostitution. That was in July 2006, and part-time Palm Beacher Jeffrey Epstein still has faced no repercussions for allegedly preying on underage girls.

So maybe Mr. Epstein is satisfied that he's getting his money's worth from his large legal team, which includes Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz (remember O.J. Simpson?) and Kenneth Starr (remember Monica Lewinsky?). Jack Goldberger of West Palm Beach, who's also on the team, told Post columnist Jose Lambiet in November: "This case is absolutely going to end without a trial within the next two months."

He was wrong, but Mr. Goldberger remains on Mr. Epstein's payroll, feigning moral outrage at two lawsuits filed this year against the Manhattan money manager. The lawsuits allege sexual exploitation of teenaged girls, one of them as young as 14. Said Mr. Goldberger after the first lawsuit, seeking more than $50 million, was filed on Jan. 24: "We think this shows what this case is all about: money." Yes, it is - Mr. Epstein's effort to buy his way out of prosecution.

According to the lawyer of a 17-year-old whose parents are suing him, Mr. Epstein masturbated in front of her (she was 14 at the time) and used a vibrator on her at his home in February 2005. Another Epstein attorney, Lilly Ann Sanchez dismissed it: "Jeffrey Epstein did not have sex with this woman."

For those girls who claim that he did, Mr. Epstein's lawyers maintain that he did not know their ages, despite a police search of his home and garbage that found phone messages about the girls' school schedules and even a high school transcript. For all of his money, Mr. Epstein's best defense remains "I didn't know that I was a criminal pervert"?

Palm Beach Post Editorial #4

Rich man fought the law and he mostly won

Palm Beach Post Editorial

Monday, July 07, 2008

Two years after a grand jury indicted him on a felony charge of solicitation of prostitution, Jeffrey Epstein finally admitted that he lured a teenage girl to his $8.5 million, 13,000-square-foot Palm Beach mansion for sex. A week ago, the 55-yearold investment banker began serving 18 months in jail.

But that plea deal - guilty of felony solicitation of prostitution and procuring a person under the age of 18 for prostitution - does not account for all five of the girls, one as young as 14, who alleged that Epstein sexually abused them. And why is Epstein serving his term in the overcrowded Palm Beach County Jail and not a state prison, where inmates are sent if their sentences are longer than one year?

The slow, dissatisfying resolution of the case sends a message to the public Post your that there's a different system of justice for the wealthy who hire highcomments powered lawyers. Epstein's legal team included West Palm Beach defense on this attorney Jack Goldberger, Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz, who defended O.J. Simpson against murder charges, and Kenneth Starr, the prosecutor who pursued then-President Bill Clinton for lying about sex with young women.

Palm Beach police spent 11 months investigating Epstein before State Attorney Barry Krischer sent the case to a grand jury, instead of charging Epstein so the man who once boasted of accepting only billionaire clients could face a trial. The police had taken a high school transcript, class schedules and phone messages from Epstein's home that showed he knew the girls were underage. Yet Mr. Krischer was more swayed by Epstein's lawyers, who attempted to impugn the girls' character by showing they had chatted on myspace.com about smoking marijuana and drinking. He should have let a jury decide whether the victims - and Epstein - were credible.

Ultimately, one charge against Epstein finally reflected the age of one victim, and the plea agreement left Epstein labeled a sex offender. With that additional charge, if Epstein had been convicted at a trial, he could have been sentenced to anything from probation to 15 years in prison, Assistant State Attorney Lanna Belohlavek said, adding that the recommended guideline sentence was 21 months.

Epstein also won't have to certify to the court that he is receiving counseling, typically required of sex offenders, because he has a private psychiatrist. But without court supervision, who will ensure Epstein is in fact being treated?

The plea deal also drops a federal investigation of Epstein. If a federal investigation was warranted, how does dropping it before completion benefit the public?

Epstein preyed on girls and denied it. For three years, his wealth and the influence of his lawyers bought him the protection the state attorney owed to the victims.

New York Post – 07/27/2008

New York Post - New York, N.Y.

Date: Jul 27, 2006

Start Page: 014

Section: Page Six

Text Word Count: 395

IT looks like New York billionaire financier Jeffrey Epstein got off easy when he was hit with a charge of soliciting a prostitute for a "happy ending" in Palm Beach.

Because if Palm Beach police had their way, Epstein, 53 - who surrendered last Sunday and is out on $3,000 bail - might have been whacked with far more serious charges of paying underage girls for sex.

But a state grand jury found the witnesses in the case were not credible and threw out all but the single charge of soliciting a hooker in his luxurious Palm Beach home. Epstein's lawyers and friends now say he's the hapless victim of a vendetta by Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter, whom they describe as a "born-again nut case."

According to the police investigation, a copy of which was obtained by the Palm Beach Post, detectives took statements from 17 witnesses and five alleged victims. Haley Robson, 20, a Palm Beach Community College student who described herself as "like a Heidi Fleiss," says she got naked to give Epstein a massage, then brought him six girls ages 14-16 for massages and sex at his home. She said they were paid $200 per session.

Cops also allege that Epstein's personal assistant, Sarah Kellen, who hasn't been charged, set up the liaisons and put fresh sheets on the massage table and supplied massage oils. Police searched through Epstein's garbage and retrieved sex toys and feminine hygiene products.

Epstein's Palm Beach lawyer, Jack Goldberger, told Page Six that the Florida state attorney concluded the cops had looked at evidence from a "one-sided perspective." He added that Epstein had passed an extensive lie-detector test in which he was grilled about underage girls.

Epstein's New York lawyer, Gerald Lefcourt, said, "The prosecutor didn't want to bring any charges in this case, but because of the craziness of this police chief, we have the charge of solicitation."

Last night, WPTV in Palm Beach reported that one reason Robson's testimony may have been dismissed is the kinky Web page she has on MySpace featuring photos of her female friends playing with sex toys. One friend even uses the name "Pimpin' Made EZ."

Robson, who isn't charged, also writes, "Do what you do to make that money, life is a gamble. Stay hustling."

A spokeswoman for Reiter said, "We think our investigation speaks for itself."

Cops also allege that [Jeffrey Epstein]'s personal assistant, Sarah Kellen, who hasn't been charged, set up the liaisons and put fresh sheets on the massage table and supplied massage oils. Police searched through Epstein's garbage and retrieved sex toys and feminine hygiene products.

Epstein's Palm Beach lawyer, Jack Goldberger, told Page Six that the Florida state attorney concluded the cops had looked at evidence from a "one-sided perspective." He added that Epstein had passed an extensive lie-detector test in which he was grilled about underage girls.

NewYork Post – 09/20/2007

JAIL LOOMS FOR SEX-CASE MOGUL

September 20, 2007 -- THE sordid sex case involving Jeffrey Epstein may be coming to an unhappy ending -with a plea deal that would put the publicity-shy billionaire behind bars for 15 months for allegedly soliciting underage teen girls for sex at his Palm Beach mansion.

Sources tell Page Six that Epstein's high-powered lawyers - including Alan Dershowitz, Gerald Lefcourt, Roy Black and Kenneth Starr - have been negotiating a deal with federal prosecutors who are probing, among other things, whether the gray-haired money manager paid West Palm Beach girls for sex or transported them across state lines. Epstein is currently charged by the State of Florida with soliciting young prostitutes for sex - but federal charges would be far more serious.

The Palm Beach Post reported yesterday that Epstein is very close to a deal with the feds that would send him to jail for 1½ to 2 years. Sources tell us that while a deal has not yet solidified, what's under discussion is a guilty plea to at least one charge in exchange for a sentence of 15 months in a Florida state prison, followed by 15 months of home confinement. That would be a fraction of the time he would have to serve if he were to be convicted by a jury.

Epstein's spokesman, Howard Rubenstein, said his client would have no comment. Dershowitz also declined to comment late yesterday.

Palm Beach police records show that on March 15, 2005, a 14-year-old girl alleged she had visited Epstein's estate, where she partially stripped and gave him a massage during which he "pulled out a purple vibrator" and used it on her in exchange for $300. A further probe uncovered five young women who said Epstein had masturbated and touched their genitals during massages, the records state. A woman named Haley Robson - who described herself as "like a Heidi Fleiss" - later admitted bringing six girls between the ages of 14 and 16 to Epstein's house, according to cops.

Despite the allegations, Epstein was only nailed on a single charge of soliciting a hooker - but it sparked a federal probe. Epstein's lawyers and friends have insisted he was the hapless victim of a vendetta by Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter, whom they described as a "born-again nutcase."

Palm Beach Post - 08/14/ 2006

Police chief's reputation helps discredit attacks

By Larry Keller

Palm Beach Post - Monday, August 14, 2006

In the case of Palm Beach financier Jeffrey Epstein, it seems, at times, as if two men are accused of wrongdoing: Epstein and Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter.

Epstein, 53, was indicted last month on a charge of felony solicitation of prostitution solely because of Reiter's "craziness," one of Epstein's lawyers said. His department disseminated "a distorted view of the case" and behaved in a "childish" manner when the grand jury didn't indict Epstein on the charges it sought, another Epstein lawyer complained.

To hear the Epstein camp tell it, Reiter, 48, is a loose cannon better suited to be the sheriff of Mayberry. They whisper that he's embroiled in a messy divorce.

Reiter did in fact file for divorce from his wife, (NAME REMOVED), last year, after 24 years of marriage. They have a son, 18, and a daughter, 14. The couple is scheduled to go to mediation next week, Aug. 16. Nothing in the court file suggests their split is particularly ugly.

Reiter incurred the wrath of the Epstein camp as well as the state attorney's office for two reasons. First, he pressed for Epstein to be charged with the more serious crimes of sexual activity with minors. Second, he slammed State Attorney Barry Krischer in blunt language seldom used by one law-enforcement official concerning another because of what he perceived as that office's mishandling of the case.

In a letter to Krischer written May 1, Reiter called his actions in the Epstein case "highly unusual." He added, "I must urge you to... consider if good and sufficient reason exists to require your disqualification from the prosecution of these cases." In short, Reiter told the county's top prosecutor for the past 13 years that he ought to get off the case. "It looks like a departure from professionalism," Miami-Dade State Attorney Katherine Fernandez Rundle said of Reiter's letter.

Following Epstein's indictment, Reiter referred the case to the FBI to determine whether the super-rich, super-connected defendant had violated any federal laws. Reiter won't discuss the case or the broadsides aimed at him. But others almost uniformly use one word to describe the chief: professional.

"I have always been impressed by Mike's professionalism and his leadership," said Rick Lincoln, chief of the Lantana Police Department and a Palm Beach County cop for 32 years. "The town of Palm Beach has a very professional police department. We all consider Mike to be our peer and a man of integrity." Juno Beach Police Chief H.C. Clark II agreed. Although he doesn't know Reiter well, he has met with him on countywide law enforcement issues. "I've never seen him lose his cool. I've never seen anything but a professional demeanor from him."

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Elwell, who promoted Reiter from assistant chief to chief in March 2001. Reiter makes more than $144,000 as the town's top cop. Elwell thinks he's worth it. He's very businesslike, very straightforward. He's not easily agitated or flamboyant. He's about the work," Elwell said. "I think that his service as chief has been outstanding in five-plus years."

New York Times – 09/03/2006

Questions of Preferential Treatment Are Raised in Sex Case Against Money Manager - September 3, 2006

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

PALM BEACH, Fla. — In the summer and autumn of last year, when most of the mansions here stood empty behind their towering hedges, the police stealthily watched one at the end of a waterside lane. They monitored the comings and goings of its owner's private jet, subpoenaed his phone records and riffled through his trash.

The owner was Jeffrey Epstein, 53, an intensely private New York money manager with several billionaire clients. Months earlier, the stepmother of a 14-year-old girl told the Palm Beach police that a wealthy older man, whom the girl later identified as Mr. Epstein, might have had inappropriate sexual contact with her.

In sworn statements to the police, the 14-year-old and other teenage girls said a friend had arranged for them to visit Mr. Epstein's home and give him massages, usually in their underwear, in exchange for cash.

Most of the girls, according to the police, said Mr. Epstein had masturbated during the massages, and a few said he had penetrated them with his fingers or penis. They identified him in photos and accurately described the inside of his home. Some recalled that his employees had fed them snacks or rented them cars.

Mr. Epstein pleaded not guilty in August to the crime he was ultimately charged with, soliciting prostitution. But at a time when prosecutors around the nation have become increasingly severe in dealing with people accused of sex offenses, the case has raised questions about whether Mr. Epstein's prominence won him preferential treatment.

By the account of the police, they found probable cause to charge Mr. Epstein with much more serious offenses: one count of lewd and lascivious molestation and four counts of unlawful sexual activity with a minor.

But instead of proceeding with such charges on his own, the Palm Beach County state attorney took the rare step of presenting a broad range of possible charges to a grand jury, which indicted Mr. Epstein in July on the lesser count. In Florida, prosecutors usually refer only capital cases to grand juries.

Even before the indictment, the Palm Beach police chief, Michael Reiter, had accused prosecutors of giving Mr. Epstein special treatment and asked the state attorney, Barry E. Krischer, to remove himself from the case.

In an editorial, The Palm Beach Post attacked Mr. Krischer, a Democrat whose post is elective, saying the public had been left "to wonder whether the system tilted in favor of a wealthy, well-connected alleged perpetrator and against very young girls who are alleged victims of sex crimes."

The case has taken a toll on the reputation of Mr. Epstein, who owns a palatial home in Manhattan, has pledged $30 million to Harvard and once flew former President Bill Clinton on his 727. Politicians including Eliot Spitzer, a Democratic candidate for governor in New York, and Gov. Bill Richardson of New Mexico, also a Democrat, have returned campaign contributions from him.

But Mr. Epstein fought back, assembling a team of star lawyers, including Gerald B.

Lefcourt and Alan M. Dershowitz, a friend of his, to look into the backgrounds of his young accusers.

Mr. Lefcourt says that the police acted “outrageously” and that his client has been wrongfully dragged through the mud.

“He disputes that he ever had sex with any under-age person or anything like that,” said Mr. Lefcourt, whose clients have included Russell Crowe, Martha Stewart and Abbie Hoffman.

Neither the police nor the state attorney’s office would discuss the case in detail. But the police released a thick report on the 13-month investigation after the indictment was unsealed in late July.

The police started investigating Mr. Epstein in March 2005, almost immediately after they were contacted by the stepmother of the 14-year-old, who, according to the report, was in a special school for students with disciplinary problems.

The girl, the report said, told the police that an older friend had “offered her an opportunity to make money” and had driven her to Mr. Epstein’s house one Sunday. The friend, identified by the police as Haley Robson, a local community college student, told the girl to say she was 18 if Mr. Epstein asked, the report said.

The girl told the police that Mr. Epstein’s assistant had led her upstairs to a room with a massage table and that Mr. Epstein had come in and told her to remove her clothes. She said Mr. Epstein had masturbated as she massaged him, had pressed a vibrator against her underwear and had given her $300 afterward.

In October, the police interviewed Ms. Robson, then 19, who told them Mr. Epstein had routinely paid her to bring teenage girls to his home. The police then interviewed a total of 5 alleged victims and 17 witnesses, many of whom told similar stories about what they had observed or participated in at Mr. Epstein’s home. According to the report, at least one said Mr. Epstein had engaged in intercourse with her.

Mr. Lefcourt, his lawyer, said one girl who told the police of having had sex with Mr. Epstein as a minor had lied about both the sex and her age and had not shown up for grand jury questioning. He also said Mr. Epstein had passed a lie-detector test clearing him of any sexual involvement with under-age girls.

A spokeswoman for the Palm Beach police said that early this year, the police went to Mr. Krischer, the state attorney, intending to apply for warrants to arrest Mr. Epstein. Instead, she said, they were told that Mr. Krischer would convene a grand jury to examine the evidence and decide what charges, if any, to bring.

Around that time, the police report said, Mr. Dershowitz met with prosecutors to share information about the accusers, including statements they had posted on MySpace.com, the social networking site, concerning use of drugs and alcohol. According to the report, Mr. Krischer’s office then decided to delay the grand jury session for several months.

The Palm Beach police grew frustrated, the report said, and on May 1 the department asked prosecutors to approve warrants to arrest Mr. Epstein.

Chief Reiter also wrote Mr. Krischer questioning “the unusual course that your office’s handling of this matter has taken” and suggesting that Mr. Krischer disqualify himself.

Chief Reiter refused several requests to be interviewed, and his spokeswoman would not say explicitly why he had urged the prosecutor to step aside.

Mike Edmondson, a spokesman for Mr. Krischer, said the state attorney's office sometimes sent noncapital cases to grand juries when there were questions about witness credibility. Mr. Krischer does not recommend a particular charge in such cases, Mr. Edmondson said, but gives the grand jury a list of possible charges.

Bruce J. Winick, a law professor at the University of Miami, said that while prosecutors in Florida rarely referred noncapital cases to grand juries, they sometimes did so with sensitive cases to be extra-cautious.

Mr. Lefcourt said the police were wrong to have released the report so soon, especially without correcting information that later proved wrong. He cited his assertion that one accuser had lied about her age, adding that she had also been arrested on drug charges and had been fired by her employer for stealing.

“What I'm trying to focus on,” Mr. Lefcourt said, “is, What's motivating the selective and misleading release of information to the public?”

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New York Times – 06/30/08

Financier Starts Sentence in Prostitution Case -NYTimes.com Page 1 of 4 ge 1 of 4

July 1, 2008

Financier Starts Sentence in Prostitution Case

By LANDON THOMAS Jr.

The bad news arrived by phone last week on Little St. James Island, the palm-fringed Xanadu in the Caribbean where Jeffrey E. Epstein, adviser to billionaires, lives in secluded splendor.

Report to the Palm Beach County jail, the caller, Mr. Epstein's lawyer, said.

So over the weekend Mr. Epstein quit his pleasure dome, with its staff of 70 and its flamingo-stocked lagoon, and flew to Florida. On Monday morning, he turned himself in and began serving 18 months for soliciting prostitution.

“I respect the legal process,” Mr. Epstein, 55, said by phone as he prepared to leave his

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/26/2010 6:37:49 PM
To: Robert D. Critton Jr. [redacted]; Jessica Cadwell [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Jeffrey Epstein** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, Feb 26, 2010 at 9:59 AM
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable
To: "Alan M. Dershowitz" <[redacted]>, Martin Weinberg <[redacted]>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: <[redacted]>
Date: Wed, Feb 24, 2010 at 5:58 AM
Subject: Fw: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable
To: jeevacation@gmail.com

-----Forwarded by Public Records/PalmBeach on 02/24/2010 05:58AM -----

> To [redacted]
> From: Michael Reiter/PalmBeach
> Date: 07/10/2008 02:36PM
> Subject: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable
>
> Margie,
>
> " As you know, nothing too big or too small for us, especially in the summer " Hmmmmm. I have to be direct -- you or someone at your paper was very astute in checking the Clerk and Comptroller's computer and activity in the Epstein case two days before the hearing. As result, you sent me a text message on Saturday asking what the activity was about and I confirmed that the plea would take place. You were the only member of the news media that I talked with. And yet, after the case is completely over, the Palm Beach Daily News' editorial staff remains silent on the topic.
>
> Thanks,
> Mike
>
> Palm Beach Post Editorial
>
> Monday, July 07, 2008
>
> Two years after a grand jury indicted him on a felony charge of solicitation of prostitution, Jeffrey Epstein finally admitted that he lured a teenage girl to his $8.5 million, 13,000-square-foot Palm Beach mansion for sex. A week ago, the 55-year-old investment banker began serving 18 months in jail.
>
> But that plea deal - guilty of felony solicitation of prostitution and procuring a person under the age of 18 for prostitution - does not account for all five of the girls, one as young as 14, who alleged that Epstein sexually abused them. And why is Epstein serving his term in the overcrowded Palm Beach County Jail and not a state prison, where inmates are sent if their sentences are longer than one year?

The slow, dissatisfying resolution of the case sends a message to the public that there's a different system of justice for the wealthy who hire high-powered lawyers. Epstein's legal team included West Palm Beach defense attorney Jack Goldberger, Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz, who defended O.J. Simpson against murder charges, and Kenneth Starr, the prosecutor who pursued then-President Bill Clinton for lying about sex with young women.

Palm Beach police spent 11 months investigating Epstein before State Attorney Barry Krischer sent the case to a grand jury, instead of charging Epstein so the man who once boasted of accepting only billionaire clients could face a trial. The police had taken a high school transcript, class schedules and phone messages from Epstein's home that showed he knew the girls were underage. Yet Mr. Krischer was more swayed by Epstein's lawyers, who attempted to impugn the girls' character by showing they had chatted on myspace.com about smoking marijuana and drinking. He should have let a jury decide whether the victims - and Epstein - were credible.

Ultimately, one charge against Epstein finally reflected the age of one victim, and the plea agreement left Epstein labeled a sex offender. With that additional charge, if Epstein had been convicted at a trial, he could have been sentenced to anything from probation to 15 years in prison, Assistant State Attorney Lanna Belohlavek said, adding that the recommended guideline sentence was 21 months.

Epstein also won't have to certify to the court that he is receiving counseling, typically required of sex offenders, because he has a private psychiatrist. But without court supervision, who will ensure Epstein is in fact being treated?

The plea deal also drops a federal investigation of Epstein. If a federal investigation was warranted, how does dropping it before completion benefit the public?

Epstein preyed on girls and denied it. For three years, his wealth and the influence of his lawyers bought him the protection the state attorney owed to the victims.

Police chief's reputation helps discredit attacks

By Larry Keller

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Monday, August 14, 2006

In the case of Palm Beach financier Jeffrey Epstein, it seems, at times, as if two men are accused of wrongdoing: Epstein and Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter.

Epstein, 53, was indicted last month on a charge of felony solicitation of prostitution solely because of Reiter's "craziness," one of Epstein's lawyers said. His department disseminated "a distorted view of the case" and behaved in a "childish" manner when the grand jury didn't indict Epstein on the charges it sought, another Epstein lawyer complained. To hear the Epstein camp tell it, Reiter, 48, is a loose cannon better suited to be the sheriff of Mayberry. They whisper that he's embroiled in a messy divorce.

Reiter did in fact file for divorce from his wife, Jill, last year, after 24 years of marriage. They have a son, 18, and a daughter, 14. The couple is scheduled to go to mediation next week, Aug. 16. Nothing in the court file suggests their split is particularly ugly.

Reiter incurred the wrath of the Epstein camp as well as the state attorney's office for two reasons. First, he pressed for Epstein to be charged with the more serious crimes of sexual activity with minors. Second, he slammed State Attorney Barry Krischer in blunt language seldom used by one law-enforcement official concerning another because of what he perceived as that office's mishandling of the case.

In a letter to Krischer written May 1, Reiter called his actions in the Epstein case "highly unusual." He added, "I must urge you to... consider if good and sufficient reason exists to require your disqualification from the prosecution of these cases."

In short, Reiter told the county's top prosecutor for the past 13 years that he ought to get off the case. "It looks like a departure from professionalism," Miami-Dade State Attorney Katherine Fernandez Rundle said of Reiter's letter.

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Reiter won't discuss the case or the broadsides aimed at him. But others almost uniformly use one word to describe the chief: professional.

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From: Matthew Hiltzik [redacted]
Sent: 12/15/2018 6:40:52 PM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
CC: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Kathy Ruemmler [redacted] Darren Indyke [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Also think there should be a line in there somewhere which clearly confirms that JE understands and recognizes that he did something wrong

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 15, 2018, at 12:03 PM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

Seems very good. Is there reason or opportunity here to evoke JE's Clinton connection? He had been publicly connected to the former President and became a proxy for the considerable anger at high levels of the Federal government that still surrounded Clinton. Likewise now, one reason to revive the story is that it is a way to tar a Trump administration official, who, in the normal course of his duties, happened to deal with the case.

On Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:28 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> thoughts.
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> ---------- Forwarded message ---------
> From: **Ken Starr** <[redacted]>
> Date: Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:24 AM
> Subject: Re:
> To: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> Cc: Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]>
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aggressively enforce state criminal laws. No one turned a blind eye to potential offenses to the public order. To the contrary, the Palm Beach State Attorney's Office conducted an extensive 15-month investigation, led by the chief of the Sex Crimes Division. Mr. Epstein was then indicted by a state grand jury on a single felony count of solicitation of prostitution.

During that intense investigation, the state prosecutors extensively gathered and analyzed the evidence, met face-to-face with many of the asserted victims, considered their credibility -- or lack thereof -- and considered the extent of exculpatory evidence. Then, after months of elaborate negotiations, the state prosecutors believed they had reached a reasoned resolution of the matter that vindicated the public interest -- a resolution entirely consistent with that of cases involving other similarly-situated defendants.

Then, in came the feds. The United States Attorney's Office tried, to no avail, to fit Mr. Epstein's situation into its vision of what it viewed as a commercial trafficking ring targeting minors. This was anything but. At long last, the federal authorities acknowledged that stark reality and grudgingly agreed to defer prosecution to the state. But there was a huge catch. In the face of our arguments sharply condemning their overreach, the federal prosecutors insisted on many unorthodox requirements that tugged at fundamental values of due process. For example, the agreement required Mr. Epstein to pay an undisclosed list of asserted victims $150,000 each. Even more, the feds insisted that Jeffrey pay for an attorney to represent such unidentified victims if any chose to filed civil litigation against him. When asked what possible legal authority supported this extravagant exercise of national power, the feds lamely cited a wildly inapposite case from Alaska involving cocaine and forced on-the-street prostitution. Apples and oranges.

Under the federally-forced deal, Jeffrey was sentenced to jail. That would not have been the case under the agreed-upon state disposition of this non-violent, consensual commercial arrangement. Jeffrey complied, served that sentence, and in the process was treated exactly the same as other state-incarcerated individuals. His conduct was exemplary, and so characterized by the state custodial authorities. He continued his work, including his many philanthropic efforts.

Our friend Jeffrey Epstein has paid his debt to society. He has also paid out millions of dollars to the asserted victims and their highly-creative lawyers. For over ten years, he has lived an exemplary life, including carrying on his wide-ranging philanthropies. Those of us who represented him in the Florida proceedings -- for customary professional fees -- now count him as a trusted friend.

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From: Weingarten, Reid [[redacted]
Sent: 4/9/2018 9:11:24 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

Importance: High

Trump's handpicked sdnyusa just authorized a search warrant of trump's private lawyer's office looking for trump communications....had to justify it with crime-fraud exception....trump has to be shitting water

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, April 09, 2018 4:34 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

yds 8

On Mon, Apr 9, 2018 at 4:14 PM, Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
We on for tomorrow?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Monday, April 9, 2018 8:36 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Yes, time?

On Mon, Apr 9, 2018 at 2:34 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

> Bfast?
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>
> ---
>
> **From:** jeffrey E.
> **Sent:** Monday, April 9, 2018 8:10 AM
> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> **Subject:** Re:
>
> Tomorrow?
>
> On Mon, Apr 9, 2018 at 1:44 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Today and tomorrow
>>
>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>>
>> ---
>>
>> **From:** jeffrey E.
>> **Sent:** Monday, April 9, 2018 2:39 AM
>> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
>> **Subject:**
>>
>> are you in this week?

> > --
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From: [redacted][[redacted]]
Sent: 2/10/2011 9:45:51 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: macreonomics issue

Importance: High

do you think something like this is worthwhile and should i engage?

For Federal Programs, a Taste of Market Discipline

By DAVID LEONHARDT

Published: February 8, 2011

Wouldn't it be nice if taxpayers could somehow get a refund for government programs that didn't work? Instead, the opposite tends to happen. Programs that fail to make a difference — like many of those that train workers for new jobs — endure indefinitely. Often, policy makers don't even know which work and which don't, because rigorous evaluation is rare in government. And competition, which punishes laggards in the private sector, is typically absent in the public sector.

But there is some good news on this front. Lately, both American and British policy makers have been thinking about how to bring some of the competitive discipline of the market to government programs, and they have hit on an intriguing idea.

David Cameron's Conservative government in Britain is already testing it, at a prison 75 miles north of London. The Bloomberg administration in New York is also considering the idea, as is the State of Massachusetts. Perhaps most notably, President Obama next week will propose setting aside $100 million for seven such pilot programs, according to an administration official.

The idea goes by one of two names: pay for success bonds or social impact bonds. Either way, nonprofit groups like foundations pay the initial money for a new program and also oversee it, with government approval. The government will reimburse them several years later, possibly with a bonus — but only if agreed-upon benchmarks show that the program is working.

If it falls short, taxpayers owe nothing.

The first British test is happening at Her Majesty's Prison Peterborough, where 60 percent of the prisoners are convicted of another crime within one year of release. Depressingly enough, that recidivism rate is typical for a British prison.

To reduce the rate, a nonprofit group named Social Finance is playing a role akin to venture capitalist. It has raised about $8 million from investors, including the Rockefeller Foundation. Social Finance also oversees three social service groups helping former prisoners find work, stay healthy and the like. If any of those groups starts to miss its performance goals, it can be replaced.

For the investors to get their money back starting in 2014 — with interest — the recidivism rate must fall at least 7.5 percent, relative to a control group. If the rate falls 10 percent, the investors will receive the sort of return that the stock market historically delivers. "It's been only a few months," says Tracy Palandjian, who recently opened a new Social Finance office in Boston, "but the numbers are coming in O.K."

Antony Bugg-Levine of the Rockefeller Foundation told me it had invested in the project for two main reasons. One, it expected to get its money back and then be able to reuse it. Two, if social impact bonds work, they have the potential to attract for-profit investors — and vastly expand the pool of capital that's available for social programs.

Clearly, social impact bonds have limitations. For starters, it's hard to see how private money could ever pay for multibillion-dollar programs like Medicaid or education.

Just as important, the execution of any bond program will be complicated. It will depend on coming up with the right performance measures, which is no small matter. Done wrong, the measures will end up rewarding programs lucky (or clever) enough to enroll participants who are more likely to succeed no matter what.

But whatever the caveats about the bonds, the potential for improving the government's performance is obviously huge. That's true in education, health care, criminal justice and many other areas.

A recent review found that 10 major social programs had been rigorously evaluated over the past two decades, using the scientific gold standard of random assignment. Only one of the 10 — Early Head Start, for infants, toddlers pregnant women — was a clear success. Yet all 10 still exist, and largely in their original form.

Jon Baron, the president of the Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy in Washington, points out that the social problems addressed by antipoverty programs have not gotten much better in years. School test scores have barely changed. College graduation rates for low-income students have stagnated. The poverty rate is as high as it was in 1981. Median household income is lower than it was in 1998.

"If we just keep funding social programs the way we have been," Mr. Baron says, "there's not a lot of reason to think we'll have much success."

The Obama administration's seven pilot programs would create bonds for, among other areas, job training, education, juvenile justice and care of children's disabilities. Nonprofit groups like Social Finance could apply. So could for-profit companies, said the White House official, who asked not to be named because the president had not yet released next year's budget. The $100 million for the bonds would come out of the budgets of other programs, to stay consistent with Mr. Obama's announced freeze on non-security spending.

Officials in Massachusetts and New York are looking at similar ideas but have not yet decided whether they will issue bonds.

Beyond the impact of any single program, the bonds have the potential to nudge all government agencies to pay more attention to results. Mr. Obama, after all, campaigned as a reformer who wanted to create a sleek, efficient "iPod government." He has had some success, like the expansion of a program — backed by years of solid evidence — in which nurses go to the homes of new at-risk parents to counsel them.

Over all, though, the administration has not done enough to improve government efficiency. Put it this way: If someone asked you how Mr. Obama had made government work better, would you have an answer?

Making government work better will be all the more important in the years ahead. The free market is not going to solve many of our biggest problems, be it stagnant pay or spotty medical care. And government — in Washington and locally — is going to be financially squeezed for a long time.

There never was a good excuse for wasting billions of taxpayer dollars on programs that didn't work. But now, especially, there's no excuse.

From: Richard Kahn [[redacted]]
Sent: 8/1/2018 1:34:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Congressional candidate compares Melania Trump to prostitute

Importance: High

https://nypost.com/2018/07/31/congressional-candidate-compares-melania-trump-to-prostitute/?utm_source=maropost&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=nypdaily&utm_content=20180801&mpweb=755-7157445-719004712

Congressional candidate compares Melania Trump to prostitute

By Chris Perez

A congressional candidate from Oregon has caused an uproar on social media after comparing first lady Melania Trump to a prostitute.

“Did you know the First Lady works by the hour?” tweeted independent House candidate Mark Roberts on Monday, using the hashtags “#thinkdirty” and “#hoebag.”

Twitter users were quick to blast the politician for his crude comment, with some calling on him to pull out of the 2nd Congressional District race for Republican incumbent Greg Walden’s seat.

“Very unprofessional on your part,” tweeted one person. “Grow up and stick to the issues, so the voters in your district can decide on your stand regarding the issues.”

Another added, “Wow no class Mark. You’re definitely using liberal tactics and it makes me wonder if you really are a conservative at all.”

Roberts sparked the social media storm on Monday afternoon after replying to a tweet from Charlie Kirk, president of the right-wing youth organization Turning Point USA. Kirk had compared Melania’s staff numbers to those of former first lady Michelle Obama.

“Did you know: There are thirty-nine fewer staffers dedicated to The First Lady of the United States (FLOTUS) than under Obama,” Kirk tweeted, referencing data reported in January.

“There are only five staffers dedicated to Melania Trump vs. forty-four staffers who served Michelle Obama,” he said.

Political experts told The Oregonian on Tuesday that Roberts' reply completely railroaded his chances of unseating Walden in a race that was already said to be a longshot.

"If he wins, I'll sell my house and donate to charity," joked Jim Moore, political science professor at Pacific University.

Roberts is apparently known for making crude and outlandish remarks on Twitter, most of which have been aimed at politicians.

"#NikkiHaley very hot," he once tweeted, in reference to a TV appearance she made last year.

"Important stuff," Roberts added.

Describing Illinois Democratic Sen. Kamala Harris, the independent candidate tweeted: "Hot, tough & smart!"

Commenting on a video featuring President Trump, he said: "It looks like he's morphing into a woman, get that man a haircut and non fat chocolate cake!"

In response to the social media backlash he's been receiving, Roberts refused to apologize and instead cited the Constitution.

"It's that whole 1st amendment thing," he tweeted on Tuesday, along with an official explanation from Twitter as to why his tweet about Melania hasn't been taken down.

"We have investigated the reported content and could not identify any violations," a spokesperson said. "Accordingly, we have not taken any action at this time."

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
Phone [redacted]
Fa[redacted]
Cell [redacted]

From: Noam Chomsky [redacted]]
Sent: 12/26/2016 6:56:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Valeria Chomsky [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I read what his ghost-writer said about him. Pretty scary.

Reminds me of something I was told by Jon Snow, one of England's most sensible newsmen. He was with the press entourage accompanying Tony Blair on his visit to Saudi Arabia, and walking around one of the palaces one day, he saw Blair sitting in a room with a book in his lap, which greatly surprised him -- until he came over to talk. It was the New Testament.

And then Blair started telling about how delighted he and Cheri were with the gold door handles,....

I notice that your prediction was right about Trump's avoiding the White House as far too primitive. Must be driving the Secret Service up the wall.

I'll keep in mind what you say about Trump's tweets, but they are hard to ignore. Whatever he may think, others here and abroad can't help considering the meaning of the words, and take action accordingly.

About meaning, It's not clear to me how to distinguish the meaning of "New York" (however it is correctly specified) from the concept. Still don't see how to work out field models.

Noam

On Mon, Dec 26, 2016 at 12:27 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> one of donalds closet people said that remember , he has written three books. . which makes him one of the few people in the world that has written more books than he has read
>
> On Mon, Dec 26, 2016 at 9:59 AM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted] wrote:
>
>> For word meanings, the closest I can think of to something like this is an array of meaning postulates, in Carnap's sense, something that Jerry Fodor for one has toyed with. Multidimensional, but not a field. I don't see how to work it out, or to extend it to the interpretations of longer units.
>>
>> On Mon, Dec 26, 2016 at 5:51 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>
>>> happy chanukah. . - has anyone in the past made a linguistic model that used fields instead of definitions. similar to a magnet field. to some degree. there is no one vector that describes the word but a field of them. home surrounded by a field of definitions. not based on 3 d space but based on context . one could integrate over the field. see smoothness. strength , change. . not sure it is useful. but having fun
>>>
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Date: Thursday, January 9 2014 01:39 PM
Subject: RE: Re:
From: Jes Staley [redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Everyone is talking about Gates comments on Obama. Surprised by what Gates did. I talked with Daley yesterday, and he thought that Gates making his comments while Obama is still in the White House, completely irresponsible.

Lots of talk on Israel and Iran. Gives a higher chance that Israel goes it alone than I have heard elsewhere.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2014 8:37 AM
To: Jes Staley
Subject: Re:

nope. how was tenet

On Thu, Jan 9, 2014 at 8:35 AM, Jes Staley [redacted] wrote:
I got completely swamped, and then had a dinner with George Tenet and my military guy from Brookings. My fault. Is larry coming by again today?

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2014 7:02 AM
To: Jes Staley
Subject:

eveything ok, we waited

--
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Date: Friday, September 26 2014 10:57 PM
Subject: Re:
From: Jes Staley <[redacted]>
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

I saw that.

Sent from my iPhone
On Sep 26, 2014, at 6:51 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Administration officials were firm that President Obama was only beginning to think about a new attorney general, but many in Washington are already focusing on **Kathryn Ruemmler**, the former White House counsel, who recently returned to private practice.

Ms. Ruemmler, 43, is known to be highly trusted by the president, and she helped guide his thinking on gay rights, the health care law and the reach of executive authority.

She is one of only three women to serve as White House counsel.

Ms. Ruemmler, who grew up in Washington State and studied law at Georgetown, also has a history of winning over skeptical Republicans. “You never had to question where she was coming from, and she never volunteered something she didn’t know,” said Senator Saxby Chambliss, Republican of Georgia. “She is very precise but very firm also, and held her own well.”

She also won admirers as a lead prosecutor on the Enron task force. But if Ms. Ruemmler is nominated, the advice she dispensed to the White House about the I.R.S. scandal and the attacks on Benghazi, Libya, will certainly draw scrutiny.

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The INDEPENDENT

Prince Andrew sex allegations: Jeffrey Epstein's butler Alfredo Rodriguez, who stole tell-all 'black book', dies age 60

Rodriguez served prison time after refusing to hand over Epstein's (pictured) book in 2011 and attempting to sell it for over £30,000

Loulla-Mae Eleftheriou-Smith

Wednesday, 7 January 2015

Alfredo Rodriguez, the butler of convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, has died, and with him the location of a 'black book', which allegedly details "the full scope and the extent of Epstein's involvement with underage girls", and contact details of the businessman's celebrity friends.

Rodriguez died at the age of 60 after suffering from mesothelioma last week, his widow Patricia Dunn told *DailyMail.com.*

Dunn alleges that her late husband "knew all about Prince Andrew," who has been named in the current sex scandal centring on Epstein. Allegations levelled at the Prince are that he was supplied with a teenage girl who was used by Epstein as a "sex slave". Buckingham Palace has denied the allegation.

The 'black book' that Rodriguez had in his possession is journal in which Epstein is understood to have detailed the girls which attended his properties for "massages" for him and his friends, and details of his celebrity friends and associates who had no connection with alleged offences, including Bill Clinton and Donald Trump.

Jeffrey Epstein: Controversies surrounding paedophile billionaire

Rodriguez, who stole the book, claimed he needed it as insurance against the businessman to protect his own life.

The butler failed to tell prosecutors he possessed the book and later refused to hand it over. He was jailed for 18 months for attempting to sell it for $50,000 (£31,000).

In 2011 it emerged that the journal "detailed the full scope and the extent of Epstein's involvement with underage girls," according to prosecuting lawyers, who referred to it as "The Holy Grail".

Rodriguez died on 28 December. The current location of the document has not been disclosed and the *Mirror* claims Epstein's lawyers are "petrified" about where it will go, according to a source.

Read more: Boris Johnson has 'sympathy' for Prince amid sex claims
Documents about Prince Andrew's support for Epstein 'concealed'

Billionaire sex offender Epstein had '21 numbers' for Bill Clinton

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From: Martin Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 1/30/2015 5:54:21 PM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Darren Indyke [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: David Pegg <[redacted]>
Date: January 30, 2015, 12:00:34 PM EST
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Dear Mr Weinberg,

I hope this email finds you well. I am a journalist at The Guardian newspaper in London.

We are preparing for publication an article in which we may mention Mr Jeffrey Epstein, who is your client. We have sent Mr Epstein an email concerning this article and made a number of attempts to contact him, to which he has not responded.

Please see the email in question below. Should Mr Epstein wish to respond, please ensure that we receive his response by no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

I would be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt of this email.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **David Pegg** <[redacted]>
Date: 29 January 2015 at 16:49
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeffrey@jeffreyepstein.org

Dear Mr Epstein,

I write further to an email sent to you earlier this month, concerning an article we are preparing for publication in which you may be mentioned.

We have not received a response from you. If you wish to respond, please do so as soon as possible and no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

For your convenience, please see the original letter below,.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

On 5 January 2015 at 11:14, David Pegg <[redacted] wrote:

> Swiss Accounts Survey
>
> Dear Mr Epstein,
>
> We are writing because a US media organisation, in concert with ourselves at the Guardian newspaper in London, is currently conducting a detailed survey of Swiss bank accounts, past and present.
>
> It is not illegal to have Swiss accounts. But as you may know, it is a topic of considerable public debate, and several governments have been investigating the owners of such accounts.
>
> There are a number of ways such accounts and also offshore trusts have been used to avoid inheritance tax, UK domestic tax, or tax imposed by other countries. Such accounts have also been used to launder money.
>
> We have seen records held in the US identifying you among those who have held accounts. These accounts contained assets of up to USD 3.5m, and include:
>
> HSBC (Suisse) SA
> FAMILY INTEREST L.P.
> 22079
> BESSIE
> JEFFREY EPSTEIN
>
> 1) You may therefore have been a person evading or avoiding tax, or laundering money.
>
> We will be particularly concerned with these questions:
>
> 2) Why you had Swiss accounts.
> 3) How much back tax you have settled with the tax authorities following their investigation of your affairs.
>
> Additionally, from public records and from material we have seen we note that:
>
> 4) In 2008 you pleaded guilty to solicitation of prostitution and procuring minors for prostitution. You were sentenced to 18 months in prison.

5) Your above accounts were also linked with Mr Leslie Wexner.

6) You are known to be or have previously been closely associated with Bill Clinton, Prince Andrew and Kevin Spacey.

7) You have made substantial contributions to the Clintons' philanthropic causes. Tax reform campaigners have previously been critical of those who engage in public life or the political process while avoiding or evading tax. Hilary Clinton herself, speaking in 2012, noted the importance of elites paying a substantial share of tax: "One of the issues that I have been preaching about around the world is collecting taxes in an equitable manner — especially from the elites in every country."

It is intended shortly to publish the results of our survey in both the US and the UK.

As responsible journalists acting in the public interest, we would first like to give you the opportunity to comment.

If we do not hear from you by 18:00 on Monday 12th January 2015 (preferably by email to [redacted], we shall proceed on the basis that you do not wish to comment on or amend our information.

But we have approached you in a straightforward fashion and hope you will take this opportunity to respond if you wish. Your substantive responses to each of our numbered points will be carefully considered and published if appropriate.

(For the avoidance of doubt, we do not normally regard any generalised assertion of "inaccuracies" as a substantive response; nor any generalised statement that the holders acted on advice. Neither will we regard as substantive any comment that only refers to the present state of affairs and not to the past.)

We are, of course, happy to discuss directly any concerns you may have.

We would be most grateful if you would acknowledge receipt of this letter. This will save us from chasing.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

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From: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 1/30/2015 7:03:47 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com; [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: David Pegg
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 12:00 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Dear Mr Weinberg,

I hope this email finds you well. I am a journalist at The Guardian newspaper in London.

We are preparing for publication an article in which we may mention Mr Jeffrey Epstein, who is your client. We have sent Mr Epstein an email concerning this article and made a number of attempts to contact him, to which he has not responded.

Please see the email in question below. Should Mr Epstein wish to respond, please ensure that we receive his response by no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

I would be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt of this email.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **David Pegg** [redacted]
Date: 29 January 2015 at 16:49
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein
To: [redacted]

Dear Mr Epstein,

I write further to an email sent to you earlier this month, concerning an article we are preparing for publication in which you may be mentioned.

We have not received a response from you. If you wish to respond, please do so as soon as possible and no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

For your convenience, please see the original letter below,.

Yours faithfully,

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Kings Place
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Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

On 5 January 2015 at 11:14, David Pegg <[redacted]> wrote:

> Swiss Accounts Survey
>
> Dear Mr Epstein,
>
> We are writing because a US media organisation, in concert with ourselves at the Guardian newspaper in London, is currently conducting a detailed survey of Swiss bank accounts, past and present.
>
> It is not illegal to have Swiss accounts. But as you may know, it is a topic of considerable public debate, and several governments have been investigating the owners of such accounts.
>
> There are a number of ways such accounts and also offshore trusts have been used to avoid inheritance tax, UK domestic tax, or tax imposed by other countries. Such accounts have also been used to launder money.
>
> We have seen records held in the US identifying you among those who have held accounts. These accounts contained assets of up to USD 3.5m, and include:
>
> HSBC (Suisse) SA
> FAMILY INTEREST L.P.
> 22079
> BESSIE
> JEFFREY EPSTEIN
>
> 1) You may therefore have been a person evading or avoiding tax, or laundering money.
>
> We will be particularly concerned with these questions:
>
> 2) Why you had Swiss accounts.
> 3) How much back tax you have settled with the tax authorities following their investigation of your affairs.
>
> Additionally, from public records and from material we have seen we note that:

4) In 2008 you pleaded guilty to solicitation of prostitution and procuring minors for prostitution. You were sentenced to 18 months in prison.

5) Your above accounts were also linked with Mr Leslie Wexner.

6) You are known to be or have previously been closely associated with Bill Clinton, Prince Andrew and Kevin Spacey.

7) You have made substantial contributions to the Clintons' philanthropic causes. Tax reform campaigners have previously been critical of those who engage in public life or the political process while avoiding or evading tax. Hilary Clinton herself, speaking in 2012, noted the importance of elites paying a substantial share of tax: "One of the issues that I have been preaching about around the world is collecting taxes in an equitable manner — especially from the elites in every country."

It is intended shortly to publish the results of our survey in both the US and the UK.

As responsible journalists acting in the public interest, we would first like to give you the opportunity to comment.

If we do not hear from you by 18:00 on Monday 12th January 2015 (preferably by email to [redacted]), we shall proceed on the basis that you do not wish to comment on or amend our information.

But we have approached you in a straightforward fashion and hope you will take this opportunity to respond if you wish. Your substantive responses to each of our numbered points will be carefully considered and published if appropriate.

(For the avoidance of doubt, we do not normally regard any generalised assertion of "inaccuracies" as a substantive response; nor any generalised statement that the holders acted on advice. Neither will we regard as substantive any comment that only refers to the present state of affairs and not to the past.)

We are, of course, happy to discuss directly any concerns you may have.

We would be most grateful if you would acknowledge receipt of this letter. This will save us from chasing.

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Tel: [redacted]
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From: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 1/30/2015 8:20:19 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 2:04 PM
To: Martin G. Weinberg
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Privileged - Redacted

On Fri, Jan 30, 2015 at 3:03 PM, Martin G. Weinberg [redacted] wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

From: David Pegg
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 12:00 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Dear Mr Weinberg,

I hope this email finds you well. I am a journalist at The Guardian newspaper in London.

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[redacted]

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Date: 29 January 2015 at 16:49
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeffrey@jeffreyepstein.org

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Tel: [redacted]
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Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

Date: Friday, November 4 2016 10:58 PM
Subject: Re: told you , the case ws a fake
From: Eva Dubin <[redacted]>
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

□□□□

Sent from my iPhone
On Nov 4, 2016, at 6:24 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

The following transaction was entered by Meagher, Thomas on 11/4/2016 at 5:59 PM EDT and filed on 11/4/2016

Case Name: Doe v. Trump et al
Case Number: 1:16-cv-07673-RA
Filer: Jane Doe
Document Number: 15

Docket Text:
NOTICE OF VOLUNTARY DISMISSAL Pursuant to Rule 41(a)(1)(A)(i) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, the plaintiff(s) and or their counsel(s), hereby give notice that the above-captioned action is voluntarily dismissed, against the defendant(s) All Defendants. Document filed by Jane Doe. (Meagher, Thomas)

1:16-cv-07673-RA Notice has been electronically mailed to:

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please note

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Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

Date: Sunday, January 15 2017 02:10 PM
Subject: NYTimes: Donald Trump News Conference Gets the ‘S.N.L.’ Treatment
From: Glenn Dubin <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

---

http://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/15/arts/donald- trump-saturday-night-live.html?smprod=nytcore- ipad &smid=nytcore- ipad-share

The actor Alec Baldwin, in a parody of Mr. Trump’s first news conference as president-elect, began by vowing to answer what he said was “the question that’s on everyone’s mind.”

Sent from my iPad

From: Leon Black [[redacted]]
Sent: 1/30/2017 3:52:45 PM
To: 'jeffrey E.' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

Jeffrey- I can't print this and when we try- it messes up the computer. Perhaps you can have Lesley scan it – or show it to Leon this afternoon. Thanks, Melanie

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 30, 2017 10:50 AM
To: Leon Black
Subject:

http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/shrinks-break-silence-president-trump-exhibits-traits-m-article-1.2957688

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From: paul krassner [[redacted]
Sent: 3/25/2017 12:41:05 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: FYI

Importance: High

On Mar 24, 2017, at 2:57 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

good, how are you?

Well, I just sent this email to Brockman:

Hey John,

I've been working on an article for the Village Voice but it seems to be evolving into a relatively short book — 3 segments:

TRUMP THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

A Funny Thing Happened On the Way to the Inauguration

Lies, Jokes, Fake News, and Alternative Facts

I Was a Dishonest Journalist Between Breitbart and Bannon

[Will Durst has agreed to write an intro.]

Please let me know if you'd like to consider the possibility of representing this.

As ever,

paul

Date: Thursday, May 11 2017 08:22 PM
Subject: Re: What is going on with your man Jes?
From: Thomas Jr., Landon <[redacted]>
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Other stuff I am sympathetic -- but to answer a random gmail email, that is not smart!

How are you Trump contacts responding to Comey?

On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 4:18 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> i know, everyone gets their turn in the barrel
>
> On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 10:17 PM, Thomas Jr., Landon <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> # ‘Thanks for sharing the foxhole’
>
> *Twi* *Fac* *Lin* 4 HOURS AGO By: Kadhim Shubber, Martin Arnold 6 Print

The subject of the email should have been warning enough for Jes Staley, the embattled chief executive of Barclays. At quarter to nine on Wednesday evening, after a bruising shareholders' meeting, Mr Staley received a message purporting to be from his chairman, John McFarlane. The heading read: "The fool doth think he is wise".

In fact, the message was from a prankster, using the Gmail account john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com. The imposter described Michael Mason-Mahon, an individual shareholder who called for Mr Staley to resign at Wednesday's annual meeting, "as brusque as he is ill informed" and went on to reassure the Barclays chief executive that together they had successfully seen off any attempt to force Mr Staley out.

“Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends,” the short email concluded. “You owe me a large Scotch.”

Mr Staley, who has been heavily criticised for his attempt to unmask a whistleblower, soon replied to the prankster in effusive terms. Presumably thinking he was talking to his chairman, who has been dubbed “Mack the Knife” for his habit of ousting chief executives, Mr Staley said, “You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane”.

“You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?” Mr Staley wrote. The 60-year-old Barclays boss continued in the same style: “You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit. Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.”

He had time for yet more praise before he signed off. “And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton,” said Mr Staley, referencing the legendary guitarist Eric Clapton and his chairman’s fondness for playing his guitar in public meetings.

The brief conversation ended with a final email around 11pm. The imposter sent a poem, which began “Worry not of tomorrow’s end” and ended “Revel in their bloodied eyes”. The first letter of each line spelled out the word ‘Whistleblower’.

“Thanks for sharing the foxhole,” Mr Staley replied.

The prankster, who contacted the Financial Times via Twitter, told us the email was part of his “battle with Barclays” over a customer issue. “I thought I’d see how Jes was relaxing after his AGM,” he said.

Barclays declined to comment.

The emails, which the FT has verified are genuine, are reproduced below.

—

[Prankster’s email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 08:47 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)

Subject: The fool doth think he is wise

Mason-Mahon is as brusque as he is ill informed.

However I do feel we've ceased the rally for you [sic] head today.

Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends.

You owe me a large Scotch.

John

Sent from my iPhone

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:08, Jes Staley wrote:

You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane.

You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?

You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit.

Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.

And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton.

Thank you.

Jes

—

[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 09:37 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

What else would Mack the Knife do but support those he can trust in!

Begs the question, who should we seek to silence next!?

Onward, to bigger, and better things.

I may have already had a stiff one, it's been a long day, and I get no younger.

Clapton has nothing on me ha!

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:40, Jes Staley wrote:

I bet he doesn’t.

—

[Prankster’s email]

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:45, John McFarlane <[redacted]> wrote:

In all seriousness, do let me know what fires/thorns you want me quelling over the next few days.

It’s important I stand fast, and alongside you.

You have carried yourself admirably today.

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[Prankster’s email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 10:43 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

As I retire for the night, I’m reminded of a poem my father was awfully fond of. It seems very apt.

Good night, Jes.

Worry not of tomorrow’s end
Hurry not towards falling trees
Ignore at once, the jesters dance
Sigh, oh sigh, at the folly foiled
Take down the mighty route of ills
Lest not make a scratch in time
Evenhanded wins fair stance.
Broken wooden spoons we take
Left, oh left, in such a state

Over crests and furrowed field
Wirey talons arching back
Empty roosts the plagued aspise
Revel in their bloodied eyes

We fight on.

—

From: Jes Staley
Date: Wed, 10 May 2017 at 22:58
Subject: RE: The fool doth think he is wise
To: <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com>

Thanks for sharing the foxhole.

Best

Jes

--

Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/t /landon_jr_thomas/index.html

--

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--

Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

Date: Thursday, May 11 2017 08:35 PM
Subject: Re: What is going on with your man Jes?
From: Thomas Jr., Landon [redacted]>
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

---

call now -- [redacted]

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Evenhanded wins fair stance.
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Left, oh left, in such a state

Over crests and furrowed field
Wirey talons arching back
Empty roosts the plagued aspise
Revel in their bloodied eyes

We fight on.

—

From: Jes Staley
Date: Wed, 10 May 2017 at 22:58
Subject: RE: The fool doth think he is wise
To: <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com>

Thanks for sharing the foxhole.

Best

Jes

--

Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/t /landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

---

From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Sent: 12/14/2017 9:32:10 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Thanks.

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] | http://www.paulweiss.com
Bio: https://www.paulweiss.com/professionals/partners-and-counsel/Brad-S-Karp.aspx

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Thursday, December 14, 2017 4:31 PM
To: Karp, Brad S
Subject:

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html

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From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Sent: 12/15/2017 8:25:35 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: today

Importance: High

Wow, call me naïve, but that's something.

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] | www.paulweiss.com

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Friday, December 15, 2017 2:51 PM
To: Karp, Brad S <bkarp@paulweiss.com>
Subject: today

http://dailycaller.com/2017/12/15/report-feminist-lawyer-promised-cash-to-trump-sexual-harassment-accusers/?utm_medium=referral&utm_source=idealmedia&utm_campaign=dailycaller.com&utm_term=68814&utm_content=1

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From: Melanie Spinella [[redacted]
Sent: 1/3/2018 6:46:53 PM
To: 'jeffrey E.' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: [External]

Importance: High

We cannot print it since we don't subscribe

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 3, 2018 1:31 PM
To: Melanie Spinella <[redacted]>
Subject: [External]

http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/michael-wolff-fire-and-fury-book-donald-trump.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/7/2018 8:51:55 PM
To: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: draft

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Oct 26, 2015 at 7:08 PM
Subject: draft
To: Melanie Spinella <[redacted]>, Brad Wechsler <[redacted]>

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/7/2018 9:36:20 PM
To: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: so there is no misunderstanding

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, Nov 29, 2016 at 1:27 AM
Subject: so there is no misunderstanding
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]

I have told the brads and barry,- I am done. its not a negotiation , out !! - fyi given my carlyn joslin castrucci, admonishments,- though my involvement in those - in one instance only gave a name - in another only given an eileen dictated choice btween two 250k preparers. and for castrucci, I actually sent emails that i take no responsiblity for his being hired. - however you felt strongly that I should be saddled with their outcomes .even with brad wechsler , i again said two months in, Leon, he doesnt get it. I tell you this so that you will understand that I will not interview, recommend or vet any new hire.
A story - In 1993 trump and I had a friend that kept telling his pilots how to fly , and when to fly , he couldnt help himself from hiring morons as co pilots, and maintenance people based on cheapest rates. Donald and I tried and tried to talk some sense into him, to no avail. Donald and I were in aspen, sitting at little nells. when the friends plane crashed into the side of aspen mountain , klliing him and all on board,- Trump looked at me and said without a blink , I guess NOW he wishes he would have listened to us.- a metaphor for your office. . . had we not waited to the very last hour having had a six month window and tens of unasnwered text and emails re decisions needed including the 1031. you would have saved way more than you often feel obliged to argue about. . silly but i reallize you are stressed.
Barry will need to sit with brad for months, to absorb all the co's , structures. cash flow, financial statments etc. I will present barry my thoughts on the overall redo , it will be the exact same email that i presented to you and brad two years.ago . accurate numbers first. and foremost. . (last week gaming report stil funky). IT etc I pointed out some of the more glaring errors to barry to give him a flavor of what is to come.
Tuesday if you like we should discuss Giacometti , and pesner . difficult to finesse him if they are filing documents that you won't . these ridiculous conversations with tons of people on the phone , removes any claim you might have to not be considered a WILLFUL NON-FILER . (after youve been told by attnys and pwc that you should file in writing , you have NO choice) .. worst possible result - including serious penalties up the kazoo.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/21/2018 9:34:41 PM
To: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: draft

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Oct 26, 2015 at 2:08 PM
Subject: draft
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]>, Brad Wechsler <[redacted]>

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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From: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Sent: 8/8/2018 2:07:34 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: Anders Corr <[redacted]
Date: August 8, 2018 at 5:32:57 AM EDT
To: Fanell Red [redacted]>, Authoritarian Influence <[redacted]>
Subject: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat
Reply-To: [redacted]

From Reuters News:

China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat
http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-china/china-defends-iran-business-ties-after-trump-threat-idUSKBN1KT0TU

China's business ties with Iran are open, transparent and lawful, its foreign ministry said on Wednesday, after U.S. President Donald Trump said companies doing business with Iran would be barred from the United States.

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You received this message because you are subscribed to the Google Groups "Fanell's Red Star Rising" group.
To unsubscribe from this group and stop receiving emails from it, send an email to [redacted].
To post to this group, send email to [redacted].
Visit this group at https://groups.google.com/group/fanell-red-star-rising.
To view this discussion on the web visit https://groups.google.com/d/msgid/fanell-red-star-rising/CAEn6kiNCeXiyh%3DwQZztE7tOD8CondVxc4eMW8u40%2B1VFz86%3Dtg%40mail.gmail.com.
For more options, visit https://groups.google.com/d/optout.

From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Sent: 10/3/2018 1:49:27 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: whoopsie

Importance: High

Brutal piece.

Sent with BlackBerry Work
(www.blackberry.com)

From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Tuesday, Oct 02, 2018, 7:27 PM
To: Karp, Brad S [redacted]>
Subject: whoopsie

https://www.marketwatch.com/story/new-york-launches-tax-investigation-into-trump-after-ny-times-report-2018-10-02

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From: Karp, Brad S [[redacted]]
Sent: 2/21/2019 4:12:19 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

Very interesting.

How are you?

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] | www.paulweiss.com

From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2019 10:51 AM
To: Karp, Brad S <[redacted]>
Subject:

https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/430906-senate-investigators-want-to-question-russia-based-businessman-tied-to-trump

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From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]]
Sent: 2/21/2019 4:49:48 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

J-

Called and left a vm.

Brad

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted]
[redacted] www.paulweiss.com

From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2019 10:51 AM
To: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Subject:

https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/430906-senate-investigators-want-to-question-russia-based-businessman-tied-to-trump

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/15/2014 1:06:39 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [[redacted]

http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-10-14/ruemmler-said-to-emerge-as-obama-favorite-for-justice-job.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/30/2015 7:04:56 PM
To: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

On Fri, Jan 30, 2015 at 3:03 PM, Martin G. Weinberg <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

From: David Pegg
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 12:00 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Dear Mr Weinberg,

I hope this email finds you well. I am a journalist at The Guardian newspaper in London.

We are preparing for publication an article in which we may mention Mr Jeffrey Epstein, who is your client. We have sent Mr Epstein an email concerning this article and made a number of attempts to contact him, to which he has not responded.

Please see the email in question below. Should Mr Epstein wish to respond, please ensure that we receive his response by no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

I would be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt of this email.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

[redacted]

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **David Pegg** <[redacted]>
Date: 29 January 2015 at 16:49
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeffrey@jeffreyepstein.org

Dear Mr Epstein,

I write further to an email sent to you earlier this month, concerning an article we are preparing for publication in which you may be mentioned.

We have not received a response from you. If you wish to respond, please do so as soon as possible and no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

For your convenience, please see the original letter below,.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

[redacted]

On 5 January 2015 at 11:14, David Pegg <[redacted]> wrote:

> Swiss Accounts Survey
>
> Dear Mr Epstein,
>
> We are writing because a US media organisation, in concert with ourselves at the Guardian newspaper in London, is currently conducting a detailed survey of Swiss bank accounts, past and present.
>
> It is not illegal to have Swiss accounts. But as you may know, it is a topic of considerable public debate, and several governments have been investigating the owners of such accounts.
>
> There are a number of ways such accounts and also offshore trusts have been used to avoid inheritance tax, UK domestic tax, or tax imposed by other countries. Such accounts have also been used to launder money.
>
> We have seen records held in the US identifying you among those who have held accounts. These accounts contained assets of up to USD 3.5m, and include:
>
> HSBC (Suisse) SA
> FAMILY INTEREST L.P.
> 22079
> BESSIE
> JEFFREY EPSTEIN
>
> 1) You may therefore have been a person evading or avoiding tax, or laundering money.
>
> We will be particularly concerned with these questions:
>
> 2) Why you had Swiss accounts.

3) How much back tax you have settled with the tax authorities following their investigation of your affairs.

Additionally, from public records and from material we have seen we note that:

4) In 2008 you pleaded guilty to solicitation of prostitution and procuring minors for prostitution. You were sentenced to 18 months in prison.

5) Your above accounts were also linked with Mr Leslie Wexner.

6) You are known to be or have previously been closely associated with Bill Clinton, Prince Andrew and Kevin Spacey.

7) You have made substantial contributions to the Clintons' philanthropic causes. Tax reform campaigners have previously been critical of those who engage in public life or the political process while avoiding or evading tax. Hilary Clinton herself, speaking in 2012, noted the importance of elites paying a substantial share of tax: "One of the issues that I have been preaching about around the world is collecting taxes in an equitable manner — especially from the elites in every country."

It is intended shortly to publish the results of our survey in both the US and the UK.

As responsible journalists acting in the public interest, we would first like to give you the opportunity to comment.

If we do not hear from you by 18:00 on Monday 12th January 2015 (preferably by email to [redacted], we shall proceed on the basis that you do not wish to comment on or amend our information.

But we have approached you in a straightforward fashion and hope you will take this opportunity to respond if you wish. Your substantive responses to each of our numbered points will be carefully considered and published if appropriate.

(For the avoidance of doubt, we do not normally regard any generalised assertion of "inaccuracies" as a substantive response; nor any generalised statement that the holders acted on advice. Neither will we regard as substantive any comment that only refers to the present state of affairs and not to the past.)

We are, of course, happy to discuss directly any concerns you may have.

We would be most grateful if you would acknowledge receipt of this letter. This will save us from chasing.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

[redacted]

[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/26/2015 6:08:48 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted] Brad Wechsler [redacted]
Subject: draft

Importance: High

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/26/2015 6:11:47 PM
To: Richard Joslin [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: draft

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Oct 26, 2015 at 2:08 PM
Subject: draft
To: Melanie Spinella <[redacted]>, Brad Wechsler <[redacted]>

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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Date: Saturday, September 24 2016 01:26 PM
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Michael Wolff <[redacted]>;

---

you can also add , fresh politcal juice by stating that Clinton was never on the island. I never met Al gore. no diiners on the island with either , no matter how much detail has been in the press. in fact boies Gores attny, knows that byt continues to represent the fabricator. the girl who claimed prince andrew had sex with her also accused stephen hawking and marvin minsky, . ? ehud barak on a gulfstream with five secruity guards looking the other way. ? all ludcrous.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/17/2016 2:39:57 PM
To: Richard Kahn [redacted]; Dlugash, Alan [redacted]
Subject: Fwd:

Importance: High

are they taking the deduction ONLY to get the obama care benefit. / ???? call joslin
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Brad Wechsler** <[redacted]>
Date: Mon, Oct 17, 2016 at 10:38 AM
Subject:
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Cc: Richard Joslin <[redacted]>, Tom Turrin <[redacted]>, John Castrucci <[redacted]>, Leon Black <[redacted]>

The taxes are ready to go according to RJ and Tom. There were two changes made last friday: $4mm of RA and Artspace losses can/shld reduce the 3.8% medicare tax and $7mm of TRA payments shld also be exempt from medicare taxes (consistent with prior year APO and Akin Gump advice). In aggregate this increases our overpayment by $400k.
Pls call me and I'll find rich and tom if you want to discuss. Thx, b
Otherwise, taxes are complete and we are ready to press the button and file electronically. B
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

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Date: Sunday, January 15 2017 02:16 PM
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Donald Trump News Conference Gets the 'S.N.L.' Treatment
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Glenn Dubin <[redacted]>;

saw it loved it

On Sun, Jan 15, 2017 at 10:10 AM, Glenn Dubin <[redacted]> wrote:

> http://www.nytimes.com/2017/ 01/15/arts/donald- trump-saturday-night-live.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad &smid=nytcore-ipad-share
>
> The actor Alec Baldwin, in a parody of Mr. Trump's first news conference as president-elect, began by vowing to answer what he said was "the question that's on everyone's mind."
>
> Sent from my iPad

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/30/2017 3:50:06 PM
To: Leon Black [redacted]

Importance: High

http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/shrinks-break-silence-president-trump-exhibits-traits-m-article-1.2957688

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/30/2017 3:53:38 PM
To: Leon Black[redacted]
Subject: Re:

ok

On Mon, Jan 30, 2017 at 10:52 AM, Leon Black <[redacted]> wrote:

> Jeffrey- I can't print this and when we try- it messes up the computer. Perhaps you can have Lesley scan it – or show it to Leon this afternoon. Thanks, Melanie
>
> **From:** jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> **Sent:** Monday, January 30, 2017 10:50 AM
> **To:** Leon Black
> **Subject:**
>
> http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/shrinks-break-silence-president-trump-exhibits-traits-m-article-1.2957688
>
> --
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Date: Thursday, May 11 2017 08:30 PM
Subject: Re: What is going on with your man Jes?
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Thomas Jr., Landon [redacted];

---

i tired to call you , not for email

On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 10:22 PM, Thomas Jr., Landon <[redacted] wrote:

> Other stuff I am sympathetic -- but to answer a random gmail email, that is not smart!
>
> How are you Trump contacts responding to Comey?
>
> On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 4:18 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> > i know,   everyone gets their turn in the barrel
> >
> > On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 10:17 PM, Thomas Jr., Landon <[redacted]> wrote:
> >
> > # ‘Thanks for sharing the foxhole’
> >
> > Twi Fac Lin 4 HOURS AGO By: Kadhim Shubber, Martin Arnold 6 Print

The subject of the email should have been warning enough for Jes Staley, the embattled chief executive of Barclays. At quarter to nine on Wednesday evening, after a bruising shareholders' meeting, Mr Staley received a message purporting to be from his chairman, John McFarlane. The heading read: "The fool doth think he is wise".

In fact, the message was from a prankster, using the Gmail account john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com. The imposter described Michael Mason-Mahon, an individual shareholder who called for Mr Staley to resign at Wednesday's annual meeting, "as brusque as he is ill informed" and went on to reassure the Barclays chief executive that together they had successfully seen off any attempt to force Mr Staley out.

"Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends," the short email concluded. "You owe me a large Scotch."

Mr Staley, who has been heavily criticised for his attempt to unmask a whistleblower, soon replied to the prankster in effusive terms. Presumably thinking he was talking to his chairman, who has been dubbed "Mack the Knife" for his habit of ousting chief executives, Mr Staley said, "You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane".

"You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?" Mr Staley wrote. The 60-year-old Barclays boss continued in the same style: "You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit. Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile."

He had time for yet more praise before he signed off. "And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton," said Mr Staley, referencing the legendary guitarist Eric Clapton and his chairman's fondness for playing his guitar in public meetings.

The brief conversation ended with a final email around 11pm. The imposter sent a poem, which began "Worry not of tomorrow's end" and ended "Revel in their bloodied eyes". The first letter of each line spelled out the word 'Whistleblower'.

"Thanks for sharing the foxhole," Mr Staley replied.

The prankster, who contacted the Financial Times via Twitter, told us the email was part of his "battle with Barclays" over a customer issue. "I thought I'd see how Jes was relaxing after his AGM," he said.

Barclays declined to comment.

The emails, which the FT has verified are genuine, are reproduced below.

—

[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 08:47 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)

Subject: The fool doth think he is wise

Mason-Mahon is as brusque as he is ill informed.

However I do feel we've ceased the rally for you [sic] head today.

Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends.

You owe me a large Scotch.

John

Sent from my iPhone

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:08, Jes Staley wrote:

You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane.

You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?

You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit.

Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.

And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton.

Thank you.

Jes

—

[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 09:37 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

What else would Mack the Knife do but support those he can trust in!

Begs the question, who should we seek to silence next!?

Onward, to bigger, and better things.

I may have already had a stiff one, it's been a long day, and I get no younger.

Clapton has nothing on me ha!

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:40, Jes Staley wrote:

I bet he doesn't.

—

[Prankster's email]

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:45, John McFarlane <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com> wrote:

In all seriousness, do let me know what fires/thorns you want me quelling over the next few days.

It's important I stand fast, and alongside you.

You have carried yourself admirably today.

—

[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 10:43 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

As I retire for the night, I'm reminded of a poem my father was awfully fond of. It seems very apt.

Good night, Jes.

Worry not of tomorrow's end
Hurry not towards falling trees
Ignore at once, the jesters dance
Sigh, oh sigh, at the folly foiled
Take down the mighty route of ills
Lest not make a scratch in time
Evenhanded wins fair stance.
Broken wooden spoons we take
Left, oh left, in such a state

Over crests and furrowed field
Wirey talons arching back
Empty roosts the plagued aspise
Revel in their bloodied eyes

We fight on.

—

From: Jes Staley
Date: Wed, 10 May 2017 at 22:58
Subject: RE: The fool doth think he is wise
To: <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com>

Thanks for sharing the foxhole.

Best

Jes

--

Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/ t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/9/2017 4:08:49 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]

https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/nov/09/donald-trump-robert-kraft-owner-offshore-firm-new-england-patriots-paradise-papers

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/14/2017 9:31:07 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]

Importance: High

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/15/2017 7:50:42 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]
Subject: today

Importance: High

http://dailycaller.com/2017/12/15/report-feminist-lawyer-promised-cash-to-trump-sexual-harassment-accusers/?utm_medium=referral&utm_source=idealmedia&utm_campaign=dailycaller.com&utm_term=68814&utm_content=1

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/3/2018 6:31:20 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]]

http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/michael-wolff-fire-and-fury-book-donald-trump.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/3/2018 6:50:43 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]
Subject: Re: [External]

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/01/03/new-trump-book-bannons-treasonous-claim-ivankas-presidential-ambitions-and-melanias-first-lady-concerns/?utm_term=.17d17352b1a4

On Wed, Jan 3, 2018 at 1:46 PM, Melanie Spinella <[redacted]> wrote:

> We cannot print it since we don't subscribe
>
> **From:** jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> **Sent:** Wednesday, January 3, 2018 1:31 PM
> **To:** Melanie Spinella <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** [External]
>
> http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/michael-wolff-fire-and-fury-book-donald-trump.html
> --
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 6/13/2018 2:36:34 PM
To: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Subject: Re: my suggested type of edits. lets talk

he is commited to not doing it - now , if any hint of trouble ill explain on the phone I had a long talk this morning.

On Wed, Jun 13, 2018 at 10:24 AM, Karp, Brad S <[redacted]> wrote:

> Thanks. It's still quite challenging. Will speak shortly to Michael.
>
> Brad S. Karp | Chairman
> Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
> 1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
> [redacted]
> [redacted] | http://www.paulweiss.com
> Bio: https://www.paulweiss.com/professionals/partners-and-counsel/Brad-S-Karp.aspx
>
> **From:** jeffrey E.
> **Sent:** Wednesday, June 13, 2018 9:37 AM
> **To:** Karp, Brad S
> **Subject:** Fwd: my suggested type of edits. lets talk
>
> my suggested edits
> ---------- Forwarded message ----------
> From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> Date: Wed, Jun 13, 2018 at 7:51 AM
> Subject: my suggested type of edits. lets talk
> To: Michael Wolff <[redacted]>
>
> The Special Counsel's office, nearly leak-proof since its inception more than a year ago and seemingly immune to the President's constant taunts, might appear to be operating in some parallel universe unmoved by the every-day political turmoil. But in the course of conversations I've had recently, as a I research a new book on President Trump and the forces arrayed against him, what has become clear is that Robert Mueller and his office are preparing for a life or death confrontation with the President and the mother of all constitutional crises.
>
> My discussions have been with both White House advisors and people close to the investigation. No source involved in this story would speak on the record.
>
> The sources firmly believe that Special Counsel has ready an aggressive legal theory for the indictment of the president for obstruction of Justice. In the last few weeks, as the President has indulged his pardon authority, the Mueller team has also developed a legal strategy to oppose the ikely pardon of former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, who had previously struck a plea bargain which could include his testimony against the President.
>
> Robert Mueller, according to one person familiar with the Special Counsel's thinking, could hardly contain his disgust when Rudy Giuliani, the President's new lawyer—hired to makes a television case for the President and to push back against the Mueller team—in May airily dismissed the notion that a president can be indicted. Adding insult to injury, Giuliani—who a White House source said had likely learned of aspects of the pending indictment—said Mueller agreed with that assessment. White House sources believe Giuliani was daring the Special Counsel to tip his hand. Mueller, in character, contained his outrage and continued to hold his cards close as his team finished preparing the obstruction case and refined the legal theories under which it would

claim the right to haul the president into court.

The Mueller team, according to sources both near the investigation and the White House, has prepared a case, but it requires the approval of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, who—with the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the Russia-related investigation—oversees the Mueller team. He would need to set aside He could do this based on a finding that the former opinion was inaccurate re the president being above the law. ttherby creating an inability to indict a sitting president. Indeed, Rosenstein, as recently as April, publicly declared that the President was not a target. This may have been a form of fig leaf to soothe a President who regularly demands aides assure him he is not being pursued: the President does not become a formal target until Rosenstein agrees to designate him as one.

Any proposed indictment would confront Rosenstein with matters with which he has been intimately involved. The case, according to my conversations , is fundamentally Trump versus the FBI, Justice Department, and Mueller investigation itself. In many ways, it boils down to the word of former FBI Director James Comey against the word of Donald Trump. Rosenstein, at the President's behest, drafted a memo justifying the Comey firing for how the former FBI Director handled the Hillary Clinton email investigation. But that justification, in an embarrassment for Rosenstein, was shortly brushed aside by the President when he admitted that he fired Comey to disrupt the Russian investigation. What's more, the indictment is said to charge that the firing of Andrew McCabe, the former Deputy Director of the FBI, who reported directly to Rosenstein after the Comey dismissal, was an instance of illegal retaliation tampering or consipracy by the President against a potential witness.

According to a source with knowledge of the strategy , it will be all the more controversial because if finds the entire narrative of the case for obstruction in plain sight. Almost nothing about the case involves new information. "This indictment could have been drafted without anyone being interviewed," said this source. Rather it takes well covered public events and moves them to a set of circumstantial conclusions. There is no smoking gun beyond the often flagrant, custom-breaking, events of the President's 16 months in office. Indeed, much of the evidence is based on the President's public statements and tweets about those events.

This is, according to White House sources who have gotten wind of this approach, good news: the case then, is just an issue of what motives you ascribe to the President's behavior—behavior that is, the President's supporters believe it is easy to show, impulsive and not thought out. Hence no intent. For the Mueller team, it is precisely that careless behavior and flagrant disregard for the rules that they aim to put on trial.

There is no certainty that the Special Counsel's office will ultimately pursue its plan to indict the President. But, according to a source the worry is that the plan is "more advanced" than previosly believed. . The investigation continues and new evidence or other factors might push both prosecutors and the grand jury in another direction. Just passing its first anniversary, the Mueller investigation has conducted itself with remarkable secrecy. Descriptions of a proposed indictment provide one of the few insights into its strategy and its sense of the political peril in front of it.

It may be noteworthy that there appears now not to be plan for an indictment related to collusion, although, legal experts say, that could come later.

The White House view is that without the underlying collusion charge, Mueller will be presenting a weak and politically-motivated case. The Mueller view seems to be that the obstruction charges go to the heart of exposing how Trump has abused his power and turned the White House into a corrupt fiefdom.

The President's scheme to obstruct the FBI's investigation into connections between the Trump campaign and Russian efforts to undermine the U.S. election, according to Mueller began on the 7th day of the Trump administration. Three days prior to this, on January 24, National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, lied to the FBI about his contacts with the Russian Ambassador, Sergey Kislyak. These were contacts, directed by an unnamed person.

That unnamed person, in the view of several lawyers who discussed the case with me, is very likely Trump himself, and might imply that Trump encouraged Flynn to lie to the FBI, promising to protect him—using his influence or pardon powers.

On January 27th, seven days after Donald Trump's inauguration, the President had the one-on-one dinner with FBI

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/8/2018 9:51:20 AM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Re: Het hele interview met Steve Bannon | Nieuwsuur

agreed. ill pass it on :)

On Sat, Jul 7, 2018 at 8:53 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

> This drives me f*ing crazy.
>
> Simple question for your boy: Did Donald Trump actively promote the theory that Barak Obama was not born in the US and was therefore not a legitimate President?
>
> Answer: Yes.
>
> He should not defend that shit. He can defend populist/nationalism all he wants, but when he bullies people defending obvious Trump lies, he loses credibility.
>
> On Jul 7, 2018, at 10:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> Fun
>
> ---------- Forwarded message ---------
> From: Steve Bannon <[redacted]
> Date: Sat, Jul 7, 2018 at 1:21 PM
> Subject: Het hele interview met Steve Bannon | Nieuwsuur
> To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
>
> https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/video/2240261-het-hele-interview-met-steve-bannon.html
> --
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/8/2018 3:08:21 PM
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Subject: Re: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat

https://www.klearwaterstore.com/davey-bt14-30-torrium2-booster-pump/?gclid=CjwKCAjwhqXbBRAREiwAucoo-6Wkrv3ZIfqAkk86XcrX9OzIV-2dsIdyWpJWa04lskPP9fCr7-zUfxoCXUoQAvD_BwE ? passing along not covered >?

On Wed, Aug 8, 2018 at 10:07 AM, Steve Bannon [redacted] wrote:

> Begin forwarded message:
>
> **From:** Anders Corr <[redacted]>
> **Date:** August 8, 2018 at 5:32:57 AM EDT
> **To:** Fanell Red <[redacted]>, Authoritarian Influence <[redacted]>
> **Subject: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat**
> **Reply-To:** [redacted]
>
> From Reuters News:
>
> China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat
> http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-china/china-defends-iran-business-ties-after-trump-threat-idUSKBN1KT0TU
>
> China's business ties with Iran are open, transparent and lawful, its foreign ministry said on Wednesday, after U.S. President Donald Trump said companies doing business with Iran would be barred from the United States.
>
> This service is not intended to encourage spam. The details provided have been used for the sole purpose of facilitating this email communication and have not been retained by Thomson Reuters.
> --
> Reminder, never post any FOUO information to this group.
>
> Disclaimer: Posting of articles to Red Star Rising does not indicate endorsement of the arguments or verification of the data contained in the piece. It only means that the sender finds it of value to further understanding of the Indo-Asia-Pacific region and recommends that you read it.
> ---
> You received this message because you are subscribed to the Google Groups "Fanell's Red Star Rising" group.
> To unsubscribe from this group and stop receiving emails from it, send an email to [redacted]
> To post to this group, send email to [redacted].
> Visit this group at https://groups.google.com/group/fanell-red-star-rising.
> To view this discussion on the web visit https://groups.google.com/d/msgid/fanell-red-star-rising/CAEn6kiNCeXiyh%3DwQZztE7tOD8CondVxc4eMW8u40%2B1VFz86%3Dtg%40mail.gmail.com.
> For more options, visit https://groups.google.com/d/optout.

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/2/2018 11:26:53 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]
Subject: whoopsie

https://www.marketwatch.com/story/new-york-launches-tax-investigation-into-trump-after-ny-times-report-2018-10-02

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/31/2019 10:47:52 PM
To: Michael Wolff [[redacted]]

[redacted] worked at mara lago. . she was the one that accused prince andrew. . trump said he asked me to resign, never a member ever. . of course he knew about the girls as he asked ghislaine to stop

--

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Date: Thursday, January 31 2019 11:22 PM
From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Michael Wolff <[redacted]>;

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https://www.thescottishsun.co.uk/news/3556604/teen-sex-prince-andrew-jeffrey-epstein-donald-trump-mara-lago-resort/

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/21/2019 3:50:48 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]

https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/430906-senate-investigators-want-to-question-russia-based-businessman-tied-to-trump

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Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 10:51 PM
Subject: Re: Fwd: <no subject>
From: Faith Kates <[redacted]>
To: 'jeevacation@gmail.com' <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Call me [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Faith Kates
Sent: Tue Mar 08 17:48:01 2011
Subject: Fwd: <no subject>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: gmax <gmax1@ellmax.com>
Date: Tue, Mar 8, 2011 at 12:17 PM
Subject: <no subject>
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance
<http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>
by Vicky Ward <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky- ward>
March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM
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Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 11:49 PM
Subject: RE:
From: Eva Dubin [redacted]
To: Jeffrey <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

superb!!!!
Where and when will this be published??

Date: Tue, 8 Mar 2011 12:28:31 -0800
Subject:
From: jeevacation@gmail.com
To: [redacted]

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance < http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html >

by **Vicky Ward** <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky- ward>

March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM

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Date: Wednesday, March 9 2011 01:51 AM
Subject: Re:
From: Steve Hanson <[redacted]>
To: jeevacation@gmail.com;

Hey. Just landed from LA. You around for a call- no rush- when ur free /tell me
Hope your ok
Xxoo

Sent from Steve Hanson's Blackberry

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From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Steve Hanson
Sent: Tue Mar 08 15:32:12 2011
Subject:

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance < http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes-on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

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"He saved her," I remember a close friend of mine telling me. "When her father died, she was a wreck; inconsolable. And then Jeffrey took her in. She's never forgotten that—and never will."

In many ways, the socially awkward Epstein with his big house, plane, island and ranch was the perfect replacement for her father, the late Robert Maxwell, newspaper tycoon and criminal. Sure, Jeffrey had his sexual pecadillos, but then Ghislaine's father was not without his oddities. After all, it was he who died leaving a massive "black hole" he'd fraudulently created. To Ghislaine, Jeffrey's habits may not have seemed that strange.

In fact, she probably figured, rather like I have, after years of writing about he very rich, that most successful people in the end either have some weird habit (the late Bruce Wasserstein had the weight issues, the girl issues, and moved countries to avoid paying tax), or they break the law (Sam Waksal, Martha Stewart.) You don't tend to get to the top by being the world's most balanced human being. Even the folksy Warren Buffett didn't quite manage a normal life—whatever that is. He had a second "wife" for many years whose existence he has been open about.

So what to make of the current fuss over Ghislaine? I haven't spoken to her or to Jeffrey, but I suspect that her loyalty to friends like Bill Clinton will keep her in good stead, in the end, she'll be out and about as always. Look at Waksal and Stewart. No one sees them and thinks: criminal. Au contraire. In this city, money makes up for all sorts of blemishes.

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****
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return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com , and
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From: Intelligence Squared [info=intelligencesquared.com@mcsv136.net]
on behalf of Intelligence Squared [info@intelligencesquared.com]
Sent: 4/28/2011 12:31:12 PM
To: j epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: May events, plus what's new online

Forward to a friend | Email not displaying correctly? View it in your browser.

What will the fall-out be from the crisis in the eurozone? Tighter economic coordination or an increasingly detached Germany? We're bringing together a former French president, controversial Conservative MEP Dan Hannan and Timothy Garton Ash to debate the motion "Germany no longer needs Europe – the dream is over" on May 17th.

Then two very different literary events: Rob Lowe, Hollywood actor and star of *The West Wing*, talks about his new autobiography with Kate Muir on May 25th, and Nobel Prize-winning author V. S. Naipaul will be discussing Africa, magic and travel with Geordie Greig on May 31st.

- Buy tickets online using any credit card at www.intelligencesquared.com/events
- Buy over the telephone on 020 7792 4830, or email info@intelligencesquared.com with a phone number, and we will call you back to take your order.

Scroll down for more information and for what's new on our website this week, including video and audio of a recent event with Artangel Longplayer and new videos from 5x15 Stories.

EVENTS COMING UP

Germany no longer needs Europe - the dream is over
Tuesday 17th May 2011, 6:45pm
Royal Geographical society

The Germans have got what they wanted from Europe – reunification – and feel increasingly disenchanted with the bargain they had to make to get it – accepting the euro. After the grudging bailout of Greece, the fumbled bailout of Ireland and all the sharp divisions exposed by the financial crisis, isn't the idea of Europe as a world power beginning to look like a pipe dream? Or will the euro crisis drive Europe's leaders to strengthen economic policy coordination to make sure there's no repeat performance, giving a fresh impetus for the dream of Europe? Come and hear what a former French president and five other big hitters have to say on the issue.

Rob Lowe: Tales from Hollywood
Wednesday 25th May 2011, 7pm
Royal Geographical Society

Teen idol at fifteen, founder of the Brat Pack at twenty, at 47 Rob Lowe is still one of Hollywood's top international stars. On May 25th he comes to the Intelligence² stage to recount the successes and disappointments of his Hollywood career. He'll be in conversation with Kate Muir, chief film critic on The Times, and signing copies of his new autobiography, *Stories I Only Tell my Friends*.

V. S. Naipaul in conversation with Geordie Greig
Tuesday 31st May 2011, 7pm
Royal Geographical Society

The Nobel Prize-winning Trinidadian author V. S. Naipaul has spent half a century examining the legacy of colonialism on the Third World, unravelling the guilt of the rulers and the self-serving myths of the ruled. His latest book, *The Masque of Africa: Glimpses of African Belief*, is a travelogue in which the author sets out to discover how far the old Africa's belief in magic has been subverted by the outside world. Tickets are still available to see a giant of Western letters.

PARTNER CONTENT

Recommended reading from The Periscope Post

Is royal wedding fever out of control – or is it just right? Did President Obama cave in to the birther bullies – or was releasing his birth certificate the best way to stamp out a vicious rumour? And did the Guantanamo WikiLeaks files really tell us that Britain is a hotbed of Islamist extremism? Find out who said what and why at **The Periscope Post**, the best and quickest way on the Web to put the day's headlines in perspective.

IQ^2 ONLINE THIS WEEK

The Artangel Longplayer Conversation 2011: James Lovelock and John Gray

Watch and listen to full video and audio of the recent Artangel Longplayer conversation between political philosopher John Gray and climate scientist and 'futurologist' James Lovelock. Taking the philosophical implications of long time as a starting point, they discuss immortality, suicide, the pursuit of happiness and Darwinism.

New videos from 5x15 Stories

Including Fergal Keane on when the Japanese attempted to invade India during World War II and the outrageous blunders committed by General Mutaguchi, 'one of the great vainglorious fools of history'.

Plus, Libyan novelist Hisham Matar, on his father's disappearance into Gaddafi's prisons and why as an artist he steers clear of political engagement.

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Speakers subject to change

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ISSUES OF REPUTATION

For the purposes of this discussion, here are the principal objectives:

- Minimise any mentions in the tabloid press in the UK and US
- Steadily to restore your profile in select media, political and philanthropic circles
- Establish you as a pioneering supporter of science and technology with a focus on the less fashionable but most important disciplines
- Consider some kind of annual event which brings together your business and philanthropic interests

Tabloid press attention

It is imperative that this be tackled as a matter of urgency, particularly in the UK which generates so much of the follow up coverage in the US, but also comes to the fore in the most cursory Google search of your name.

Since it is an unambiguous objective of the *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday* to take down Prince Andrew, it is disastrous for you to be seen in any way to facilitate his lifestyle, or to help with his well documented issues. Their sole interest in you and Ghislaine is as a means to attack Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson. You need to studiously avoid any involvement whatsoever with the couple, which will lessen the interest and we can establish a constructive relationship on your behalf with them. In the fullness of time, it will be possible to run a positive piece about your philanthropy.

As for the US tabloids, much of what they have published took the lead from the UK papers and is to do with the Prince Andrew/ Sarah Ferguson/ Bill Clinton axis. Without that distraction, it will be easier to maintain a lower profile.

Restoring your profile

The strategy has to be one that is medium term, say 18 months, which starts off slowly and intensifies over time, and should not appear to be calculated. We can discuss in more detail but it should include the following components:

- **"Clean up" Google:** Another urgent priority is to retain one of the expert firms in search engine optimization (SEO) to "clean up" the results on all major search engines where your name is part of a search query. Today, when anyone types in your name, a majority of the first few pages of the results are references to the charges, to paedophilia, to Prince Andrew, to unflattering stories – many of which link back to the *Mail* websites. We have hired an excellent team of Israeli experts for other clients, and there are many firms that claim to be able to optimize results this way but fail to deliver. I cannot overstate the importance of this, because it is the initial source of information on you for many people.

- **Top editors and columnists:** These engagements should be informal at the outset, and preferably at dinners, lunches and events which aren't built around you. The focus should be on serious business and financial journalists who are more interested to hear your opinions on the world economy than to probe tabloid headlines. Those editors and columnists I tend to single out are Gerald Baker and Thorold Barker at the *Journal*, Lionel Barber and John Gapper at the *Financial Times*, Andrew Sorkin and Hugo Lindgren at the *Times*, John Micklethwait and Matthew Bishop at the *Economist*, *Josh Tyrangiel* at *Businessweek*, as well as a handful of international correspondents. Ideally, the first few encounters would be at dinners and events that we organize in New York and internationally, which could be followed by dinners at your house in due course.

- **International political circles:** Much more is to be gained by increasing your profile among the international political class than the domestic U.S. political class. The global nature of your business, the importance of the growth markets and the puritanism of American politics are good reasons for this. In our view, you should be spending time with European, Middle Eastern, Asian and Latin American political and business leaders – some of which you of course already do on a daily basis but in a concerted way through such gatherings as, the Ambrosetti Forum, the Abu Dhabi Media Summit, Bilderberg and the BRICS Summit. I see that you are part of the Trilateral Commission and this is in a similar vein. The advantage offered by these gatherings over private meetings is that it demonstrates vividly to all the other opinion leaders the unique position you occupy among the international business elite.

Science and technology

The passion and commitment you have for supporting scientific and technological research is extremely helpful in two ways. First, when spending time with editors and columnists, it is important to focus their attention on areas of your choice, not theirs. Not only is your funding of these disciplines an interesting subject, but the special rapport that you enjoy with a number of outstanding scientists. This helps to showcase your unique position, and acts as a powerful character reference, as did the Alan Dershowitz quotes in your 2005 *Vanity Fair* profile.

Second, since it is intrinsically difficult for people to understand the nature of your business, it is all the more important that there is an aspect of your life that is well understood and which can be proactively communicated. Philanthropy can be the vehicle for this, and your highly targeted philanthropy even more so, because the impact is quantifiable. A lot can be accomplished with the science and technology press in the first instance, who are interested in the serious side to your work and are uninterested in the tabloid headlines.

Some of the necessary steps are:

- Take down the Jeffrey Epstein Science and Jeffrey Epstein Philanthropy websites, and build a new site from scratch which explains your interests, your past funding, the scientists you support and the breakthroughs

- Introduce greater transparency into how you allocate funding in response to grant applications
- Establish a Scientific Advisory Board of the Foundation, which serves to demonstrate the deep knowledge base you draw on and attracts the best scientists to apply
- Sets out quantifiable long term targets, i.e. the Gates Foundation target to eradicate malaria by 2015

Annual event

I would advise you to think about some kind of annual event that brings together your business and philanthropic interests, i.e. an intimate and high level summit or conference. The best events of this nature clearly demonstrate:

- The convening power of the host
- Your interest and expertise in a range of subjects
- Your network that your clients and acquaintances greatly value
- The connections made between your guests
- That you are undaunted by the negative publicity, it is ‘business as usual’

Whilst different from what I have in mind, the Milken Conference has been a key part of Mike Milken’s rehabilitation. This could be a much smaller, more high level gathering focused on a subject of interest to these core constituencies.

Osborne & Partners LLP
14 June 2011

Date: Thursday, March 20 2014 06:19 PM
Subject: Fwd: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein
From: Tyler Shears [redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>; Christina Galbraith [redacted]

Looks like Priceline Director made a bad move today and has the same name - this works to our advantage. Pushing on this story now.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Google Alerts** <googlealerts-noreply@google.com>
Date: Thu, Mar 20, 2014 at 2:04 PM
Subject: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein
To: [redacted]

Jeffrey Epstein

As-it-happens update · March 20, 2014

NEWS

Insider Selling: **Jeffrey Epstein** Sells 2000 Shares of Priceline.com Stock (PCLN)

Ticker Report

Priceline.com logo Priceline.com (NASDAQ:PCLN) Director **Jeffrey Epstein** unloaded 2,000 shares of the stock on the open market in a transaction **...**

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Daily Mail

Bill Clinton links to Prince Andrew's billionaire friend **Jeffrey Epstein**

Daily Mail

Newly disclosed flight logs show that between 2002 and 2005 the former US President travelled around the world courtesy of **Jeffrey Epstein** while his **...**

Flag as irrelevant

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Send Feedback

From: John Brockman [redacted]
Sent: 2/6/2017 8:34:19 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: sorry I missed your call

Importance: High

JE,

--Last week was misery...On Tuesday, Katinka's' younger brother, Jonathan Matson, was planning on flying in from Boston and having dinner with her. After several emails back and forth in the morning, he wrote to say he was packed and ready to leave the house but he had been fighting a stomach bug, so he had decided it was best to postpone and go to bed. He was fine at 6pm when his wife (a Mass General health professional) came home. She brought him a coke, went downstairs to make dinner. Half an hour later she went upstairs to check on him. He had died. We got the news at 9pm on a phone call from someone we hadn't talked to in 20 years" "Jonathan Matson has died" was impossible to process. Katinka is still was distraught and, just coming out of shock.

--And...this, from my older brother Philip ("Distinguished NASA Physcist" awardee), who had prostate surgery about 25 years, and got lucky be living in Raliegh-Durham, near Duke Medical Center which is tops. They've kept him alive and it's finally caught up to him:

"I have run out of standard treatments. Chemo is getting less effective with increasing side effects. There is a new drug Keytruda it has been approved for some cancers but is still experimental for prostate cancer.
https://prostatecancernewstoday.com/pembrolizumab-immune-therapy-help-men-prostate-cancer/. I have been approved to get Keytruda and will start on Thursday."

--Finally, did I ever tell you about the Biosphere crowd? Absolutely nutty cult I represented in the early 90s. (Although individually the people were sometimes fun). My friend Roy Walford, the doctor inside the Biosphere, eventually died because of a condition he developed while inside. I kept sending writers down there to work with them and they would inevitably sneak away in the dead of night. I had to sell their book three times, each time for a fractions of the previous advance which started in 7 figures. Turns out Bannon took over as CEO of the place in 1993 so we may have overlapped. See:
Steve Bannon Was Once Hired to Manage an Artificial World of People Living Under Glass (Before the Trump Campaign)-
http://slate.me/2keSDUn

In the office this afternoon and after 10:30am tomorrow.

JB
[redacted] mobile

From: Michael Wolff [redacted]
Sent: 3/24/2018 1:37:40 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: My datebook

Importance: High

Three hours with SB who believes DJT won't last to the mid terms. Also saw Brad Karp who is super menchy and offering much help on next book.

Date:	Sunday, April 15 2018 05:01 PM
Subject:	Interesting
From:	Glenn Dubin <[redacted]>
To:	Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

---

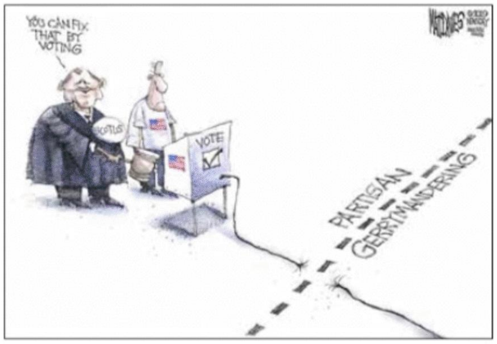
https://www.newyorker.com/news/news- desk/michael-cohen-and-the-end-stage-of-the-trump-presidency/amp?__twitter_impression=true

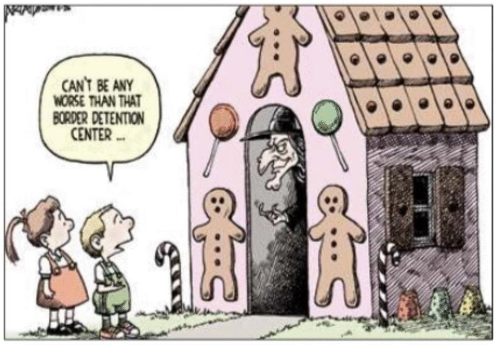
Sent from my iPhone

The Virgin Islands
DAILY NEWS
A Pulitzer Prize-Winning Newspaper
ST. CROIX ST. JOHN ST. THOMAS TORTOLA
Founded Aug. 1, 1930, by J. Antonio Jarvis and Ariel Melchior Sr.
Published by Daily News Publishing Co., Inc.

Archie Nahigian, Publisher
Ken E. Ryan, Production Director
Onneka Challenger, Circulation Director
J. Lowe Davis, Editor
Lisa Jamil, Advertising Director
Juanita Young, Controller

The week in cartoons




CAN'T BE ANY WORSE THAN THAT BORDER DETENTION CENTER ...

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Government turns its back on Jeffrey Epstein's sex victims

From the Sun Sentinel, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Private lawyers allowed sexual predator Jeffrey Epstein to escape justice. Epstein's new defense team works for the federal government.

The U.S. attorney for the northern district of Georgia claimed last week that even though prosecutors in South Florida broke the law when they approved an outrageously light sentence for Epstein, the deal must stand. Byung Pak may not actually be on Epstein's legal team, but he has placed the Department of Justice on Epstein's side.

To review, Epstein is a billionaire money manager whose friends include President Trump, former President Bill Clinton and Prince Andrew. Between 1998 and 2006, Epstein recruited roughly three dozen underage girls — generally from poor and troubled families — to his house in Palm Beach and sexually abused them.

Epstein could have faced federal sex trafficking charges. He could have faced life in prison. Instead, the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida — Alex Acosta, now Trump's labor secretary — gave Epstein immunity on federal charges and allowed him to plead guilty to minor state charges. Then-Palm Beach County State Attorney Barry Krischer went along. Epstein served 13 months in jail — he was allowed out about half the time — and had to register with the state as a sex offender.

Prosecutors never told the victims about the agreement. Until the signing of that odious agreement in 2007, the girls believed the FBI was still investigating.

Two victims challenged the deal, which applied not just to Epstein, but also to those who recruited the girls and joined in the abuse. Last February, U.S. District Judge Kenneth Marra ruled that prosecutors had violated the Crime Victims Rights Act. In criticizing the government, Marra noted, "Epstein worked in concert with others to obtain minors not only for his own sexual gratification, but also for the sexual gratification of others."

Marra then asked attorneys for both sides how he should correct this violation. Pak got the case because Acosta's old office had to recuse itself.

Pak's idea? The victims could "confer in private" with prosecutors about the deal. Prosecutors could get more training in how to consult with victims. But the deal stands. The victims don't deserve even an apology.

Pak argues that the Crime Victims Rights Act contains no provision for undoing the non-prosecution agreement, which is what the victims want. Doing so, Pak claims, could violate separation of powers.

That sounds like a warning to Marra — one he should ignore. Prosecutorial discretion doesn't matter when the action in question breaks the law. Even Pak acknowledges repeatedly that it happened.

The government, he writes, "should have communicated with the victims in a straightforward and transparent way." Pak "regrets that the manner in which (the government) communicated the resolution of the Epstein case to the victims fell short." Prosecutors could have communicated "more clearly and directly" with the victims."

None of that happened because Acosta, Krischer and Epstein's lawyers didn't want the deal to become public. The victims might have gone public with their complaints. Media coverage could have killed the deal.

Indeed, the record reflects the lengths to which Acosta and Krischer sought secrecy. Acosta drove from Miami to West Palm Beach to meet with Epstein attorney Jay Lefkowitz. Krischer wrote to a federal prosecutor, "Glad we could get this worked out for reasons I won't put in writing."

We acknowledge that Pak didn't create this mess. But his argument insults the public and reflects badly on the Department of Justice.

"The resolution in this case," Pak writes, "has led some to conclude that the government chose for improper reasons not to prosecute Epstein, a conclusion that remains unsubstantiated." That's because the principals have been able to avoid talking about it for more than a decade.

Acosta ducked the issue during his confirmation hearings in April 2017. Last November, The Miami Herald ran a series on the case that featured interviews with victims who agreed to be identified. Acosta refused to comment. So did Krischer.

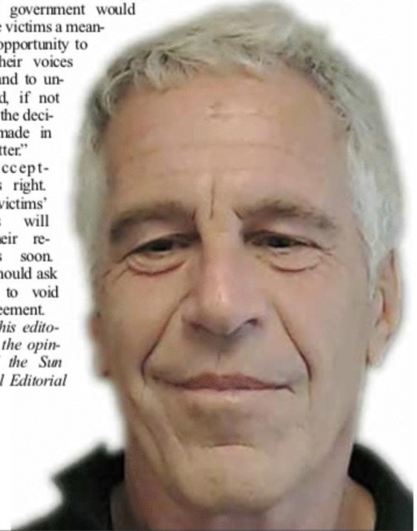
Some might argue that the victims have received money from civil lawsuits and should move on. But can there be a price for what Epstein and his accomplices did to these women? How many other victims are there? Why should a man who once faced a 52-page indictment be able to resume a life of privilege?

"While the court cannot unwind the past," Pak argues, "the remedies proposed by the government would give the victims a meaningful opportunity to have their voices heard and to understand, if not accept, the decisions made in this matter."

Unacceptable is right. The victims' lawyers will file their responses soon. They should ask Marra to void the agreement.

— This editoria is the opinion of the Sun Sentinel Editorial Board.

> **"Some might argue that the victims have received money from civil lawsuits and should move on. But can there be a price for what Jeffrey Epstein and his accomplices did to these women? How many other victims are there? Why should a man who once faced a 52-page indictment be able to resume a life of privilege?**



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From: Intelligence Squared [info@intelligencesquared.com]
Sent: 7/9/2019 6:31:56 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

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John Humphrys:
The Terrier of Today

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ADD TO CALENDAR

WEDNESDAY 9TH OCTOBER, 7PM
EMMANUEL CENTRE

Featuring John Humphrys and Justin Webb

BUY TICKETS

'I'm not sure I'd like me if I was listening to me.' – John Humphrys

John Humphrys is the Radio 4 Today programme presenter, whose forensic and sometimes aggressive interviews with figures in authority inspire love and loathing in equal measure. The Observer's television critic once wrote that if he ever found himself sitting next to Humphrys at a dinner party he would probably drive a fork through his hand. The Tory politician Jonathan Aitken accused him of 'poisoning the well of democratic debate', a comment which prompted an outburst of support for Humphrys, with the Daily Mail describing him as 'one of the most brilliant journalists in the country'.

This autumn, as Humphrys steps down after 32 years at Today and publishes a long-awaited memoir, he comes to the Intelligence Squared stage to give an exclusive, behind-the-scenes account of his extraordinary career.

Turning the tables on Humphrys and pitching the questions will be his Today colleague **Justin Webb**. Humphrys will recount the momentous episodes of his career, such as his interview with BBC correspondent Andrew Gilligan in 2003. Gilligan claimed that the government had deliberately 'sexed up' the dossier on the threat posed by Saddam Hussein in order to justify the Iraq War. A chain of events ensued, including the suicide of the dossier's source, Dr David Kelly, severe damage to Tony Blair's reputation and the Hutton and Chilcot inquiries into the war. And then there was the time Humphrys helped to get his own boss fired. His tough interview with the BBC Director General George Entwistle, days after the BBC had made false child abuse allegations against Lord McAlpine, lead to Entwistle's resignation after a mere 53 days in the job.

Join us on October 9 and hear Humphrys' previously untold stories about politicians, celebrities and the BBC, and give his trenchant views on the role of the media in politics and the health of our political system.

John Humphrys

Award-winning journalist who has been one of the presenters of BBC Radio 4's flagship news and current affairs programme Today since January 1987. During his career with the BBC, he has also worked as a foreign correspondent in both America and Africa, as well as being a diplomatic correspondent and presenter of the Nine O'Clock News. He has presented Panorama, fronts On the Ropes on Radio 4 and presents Mastermind on BBC Two. His has written two books on the English language, *Lost For Words: The Mangling and Manipulating of the English Language* and *Beyond Words: How Language Reveals the Way We Live Now*.

Justin Webb

One of the presenters of Radio 4's Today programme. He was the BBC's North America Editor for 8 years, covering the 9/11 attacks and the election of President Obama. He writes regularly for the Radio Times and reviews books for the Sunday Times.

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Jeffrey Sachs on the End of American Supremacy

Last month we were joined onstage by the University of Columbia economics professor **Jeffrey Sachs**, as he laid out his radical new vision for U.S. foreign policy. Instead of a world where America reigns as the sole superpower, Sachs argued for a new international system of equals, where America shares power and collaborates with former geopolitical rivals to solve today's global crises.

Sachs was in conversation with the BBC's Chief International Correspondent **Lyse Doucet**.

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From: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Sent: 5/6/2018 1:54:36 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fw: Fwd: APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack

Importance: High

Gates served this brother up
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Jason Miller [redacted]
Date: Sat, 5 May 2018 13:43:02 -0400
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack

Gates.

Begin forwarded message:

From: Comms Alert <CommsAlert@gop.com>
Date: May 5, 2018 at 1:19:54 PM EDT
To: undisclosed-recipients:;
Subject: APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack

APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack

Associated Press
Tom LoBianco
May 5, 2018
https://apnews.com/6dd33b4234634079821e5825f112e85b?utm_campaign=SocialFlow&utm_medium=AP&utm_source=Twitter

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Associated Press has learned that investigators working with special counsel Robert Mueller have interviewed Tom Barrack, a close friend and confidant of President Donald Trump.

Three people familiar with the probe tell the AP that Barrack met with federal investigators working on the Russia inquiry. The people spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss private deliberations.

Barrack's spokeswoman, Lisa Baker, declined to comment.

Barrack has known Trump for decades. He's been one of Trump's closest advisers through the 2016 campaign and into the administration. Barrack also is a leading fundraiser for the president and oversaw the fundraising for the inauguration.

Barrack has a longstanding relationship with Trump's former campaign chairman, Paul Manafort, and Manafort's onetime deputy, Rick Gates.

Gates agreed to begin cooperating with Mueller's investigators in February.

From: Intelligence Squared [redacted]
Sent: 6/14/2019 6:32:20 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

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John Humphrys:
The Terrier of Today

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This autumn, as Humphrys steps down after 32 years at Today and publishes a long-awaited memoir, he comes to the Intelligence Squared stage to give an exclusive, behind-the-scenes account of his extraordinary career.

Turning the tables on Humphrys and pitching the questions will be his Today colleague **Justin Webb**. Humphrys will recount the momentous episodes of his career, such as his interview with BBC correspondent Andrew Gilligan in 2003. Gilligan claimed that the government had deliberately 'sexed up' the dossier on the threat posed by Saddam Hussein in order to justify the Iraq War. A chain of events ensued, including the suicide of the dossier's source, Dr David Kelly, severe damage to Tony Blair's reputation and the Hutton and Chilcot inquiries into the war. And then there was the time Humphrys helped to get his own boss fired. His tough interview with the BBC Director General George Entwistle, days after the BBC had made false child abuse allegations against Lord McAlpine, lead to Entwistle's resignation after a mere 53 days in the job.

Join us on October 9 and hear Humphrys' previously untold stories about politicians, celebrities and the BBC, and give his trenchant views on the role of the media in politics and the health of our political system.

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John Humphrys

Award-winning journalist who has been one of the presenters of BBC Radio 4's flagship news and current affairs programme Today since January 1987. During his career with the BBC, he has also worked as a foreign correspondent in both America and Africa, as well as being a diplomatic correspondent and presenter of the Nine O'Clock News. He has presented Panorama, fronts On the Ropes on Radio 4 and presents Mastermind on BBC Two. His has written two books on the English language, *Lost For Words: The Mangling and Manipulating of the English Language* and *Beyond Words: How Language Reveals the Way We Live Now*.

Justin Webb

One of the presenters of Radio 4's Today programme. He was the BBC's North America Editor for 8 years, covering the 9/11 attacks and the election of President Obama. He writes regularly for the Radio Times and reviews books for the Sunday Times.

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The Daily: The Rise of Nationalism Across the Globe

In this week's podcast, we hosted a live conversation from "The Daily", The New York Times' flagship podcast. In an event in partnership with The New York Times, we were joined by the podcast's host **Michael Barbaro**, as well as Berlin Bureau Chief **Katrin Bennhold**, London-based International Correspondent **Ellen Barry**, Executive Producer **Theo Balcomb** and Producer **Clare Toeniskoetter** for a conversation about the implications of the nationalist undercurrent currently sweeping across Europe.

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Date: Monday, March 7 2011 04:18 PM
Subject: FW: Please forward
From: Jack Goldberger <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;
Attachments: image001.png

From: Kirsty Mackenzie [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, March 07, 2011 11:11 AM
To: Jack Goldberger
Subject: RE: Please forward

I am writing in an attempt to make contact with Jeffrey Epstein and wondered if you would, as his attorney, forward this message on to him?

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We are a programme that carries considerable weight and influence and which prides itself in being a first port of call for many of the most important and influential figures on the international stage.

I can best be reached via my cell phone - [redacted] - or this email address.

My very best wishes and my thanks!

Kirsty

Kirsty MacKenzie,
Interviews Editor,
Today Programme,
BBC News
mobile: [redacted]

BBC RADIO 4
TODAY
Weekdays 6-9am and Saturdays 7-9am
BBC NEWS

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Date: Monday, March 7 2011 05:16 PM
Subject: Re: Fwd: FW: Please forward
From: Peter Mandelson [redacted]
To: 'jeevacation@gmail.com' <jeevacation@gmail.com>;
Attachments: image001.png

No !!

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, March 07, 2011 05:01 PM
To: Peter Mandelson BT
Subject: Fwd: FW: Please forward

From: Kirsty Mackenzie [mailto [redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 07, 2011 11:11 AM
To: Jack Goldberger
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BBC NEWS

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Date: Monday, March 7 2011 09:53 PM
Subject: RE: FW: Please forward
From: Peter Mandelson [redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

---

home if you want to talk - going to bed early....

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 07 March 2011 17:01
To: Peter Mandelson BT
Subject: Fwd: FW: Please forward

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Sent: Monday, March 07, 2011 11:11 AM
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[cid:image001.png@01CBDCB9.639DD660]

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Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 08:17 PM
Subject: <no subject>
From: gmax <gmax1@ellmax.com>
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance < http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

by ***Vicky Ward*** <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky- ward>

March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM

“I’ve got a story idea for you. The rebuilding of Indonesia. Or New Orleans. Or both. Go there. I’ve just been. You will never think the same way about anything again.”
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I remembered that when we’d once discussed math—in particular, an isosceles triangle—and I revealed I hadn’t studied math since I was 14 (such is, or was, the way of the British educational system), I received a package at home via messenger. It was a book: “Math for idiots.”

So he is not without humor, even though he doesn’t drink or smoke, and hates restaurants.

“Jeffrey knows a good deal about most subjects,” newspaper publisher Mort Zuckerman told me last week. He was certainly preaching to the converted. The truth is, Epstein *does* know a lot about a lot of things. Just a few moments in his company and you know this to be true.

When I saw pictures of Prince Andrew walking in Central Park with Jeffrey, my immediate thought was that “Andy”—as Jeffrey calls him—is probably asking for help with his role as British trade envoy, or whatever his strange title is. Because if one thing’s for sure: When it comes to international business, Jeffrey knows what he’s talking about far more than “Andy” does. Which is why Leon Black, Mort Zuckerman and a few other financiers hang out with him.

And Ghislaine?

Full disclosure: I like her. Most people in New York do. It's almost impossible not to.

She is always the most interesting, the most vivacious, the most unusual person in any room. I've spent hours talking to her about the third world at a bar until 2am. She is as passionate as she is knowledgeable. She is curious. She has spent weeks at the bottom of the ocean, literally going deeper than anyone else. She has sent me a DVD of the fish there. Her rolodex would blow away almost anyone else's I can think of—probably even Rupert Murdochs'. She is very well-read and can talk about most things for hours. She is passionate about Bill Clinton with whom she is close friends.

Yet, touchingly, when she had to give a speech at the 40th birthday party of her best friend, Ariadne Calvo-Platero, (known fondly to her close friends as "the Tennis Goddess") Ghislaine shook a little with nerves. When it comes down to things she really cares about—and Ariadne is one of them—Ghislaine shows her vulnerability.
And that vulnerability is key to understanding her friendship with Jeffrey.

"He saved her," I remember a close friend of mine telling me. "When her father died, she was a wreck; inconsolable. And then Jeffrey took her in. She's never forgotten that—and never will."

In many ways, the socially awkward Epstein with his big house, plane, island and ranch was the perfect replacement for her father, the late Robert Maxwell, newspaper tycoon and criminal. Sure, Jeffrey had his sexual pecadillos, but then Ghislaine's father was not without his oddities. After all, it was he who died leaving a massive "black hole" he'd fraudulently created. To Ghislaine, Jeffrey's habits may not have seemed that strange.

In fact, she probably figured, rather like I have, after years of writing about he very rich, that most successful people in the end either have some weird habit (the late Bruce Wasserstein had the weight issues, the girl issues, and moved countries to avoid paying tax), or they break the law (Sam Waksal, Martha Stewart.) You don't tend to get to the top by being the world's most balanced human being. Even the folksy Warren Buffett didn't quite manage a normal life—whatever that is. He had a second "wife" for many years whose existence he has been open about.

So what to make of the current fuss over Ghislaine? I haven't spoken to her or to Jeffrey, but I suspect that her loyalty to friends like Bill Clinton will keep her in good stead, in the end, she'll be out and about as always. Look at Waksal and Stewart. No one sees them and thinks: criminal. Au contraire. In this city, money makes up for all sorts of blemishes.

Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 08:48 PM
Subject: Re:
From: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

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thank you Vicky!

On Tue, Mar 8, 2011 at 3:31 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> # Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance < http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>
>
> by ***Vicky Ward*** <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky- ward>
>
> March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM
>
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From: Jessica Cadwell, Paralegal [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 8:49:29 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:
Attachments: bclc.gif

Importance: High

That's actually a very well written article, and I suspect very true and from the heart.
I was thinking about you today and all the BS....
How are you holding up??
Did you see the comments on Lambiet's Page re: Spencer ☺

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YOUR TRUSTED ADVOCATES
Jessica Cadwell, Paralegal - to Robert D. Critton, Jr. & Michael J. Pike
303 Banyan Boulevard | Suite 400 | West Palm Beach | FL 33401
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From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 3:42 PM
To: Jessica Cadwell, Paralegal
Subject:

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance <http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes-on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

by ***Vicky Ward*** <*http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky-ward*>
March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM

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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 8:58:30 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

What is this??? When this will stop. This is crazy.

And you are NOT 57 ;)

And certainly you are NOT socially awkward.
Who is that idiot.

Boris

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 3:28 PM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject:

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance <http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes-on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

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March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM

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From: Jean Luc Brunel [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 9:08:46 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

This is not bad

On 3/8/11 3:47 PM, "Jeffrey Epstein" <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 9:34:45 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, 8 Mar 2011 12:40:36 -0800
To: Martin Weinberg<[redacted]>
Subject:

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance <http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes-on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

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communication in error, please notify us immediately by
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destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 11:17:34 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: <no subject>

Importance: High

I think this is a great article I think viki was clearly very nice…I remember when I got the call when she was thinking about her writing the article 8 years ago…she was spot on here this is the article that citrick should work off of…
Home all night

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 5:48 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: <no subject>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **gmax** <gmax1@ellmax.com>
Date: Tue, Mar 8, 2011 at 12:17 PM
Subject: <no subject>
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>

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Yet, touchingly, when she had to give a speech at the 40th birthday party of her best friend, Ariadne Calvo-Platero, (known fondly to her close friends as "the Tennis Goddess") Ghislaine shook a little with nerves. When it comes down to things she really cares about—and Ariadne is one of them—Ghislaine shows her vulnerability. And that vulnerability is key to understanding her friendship with Jeffrey.

"He saved her," I remember a close friend of mine telling me. "When her father died, she was a wreck; inconsolable. And then Jeffrey took her in. She's never forgotten that—and never will."

In many ways, the socially awkward Epstein with his big house, plane, island and ranch was the perfect replacement for her father, the late Robert Maxwell, newspaper tycoon and criminal. Sure, Jeffrey had his sexual pecadillos, but then Ghislaine's father was not without his oddities. After all, it was he who died leaving a massive "black hole" he'd fraudulently created. To Ghislaine, Jeffrey's habits may not have seemed that strange.

In fact, she probably figured, rather like I have, after years of writing about he very rich, that most successful people in the end either have some weird habit (the late Bruce Wasserstein had the weight issues, the girl issues, and moved countries to avoid paying tax), or they break the law (Sam Waksal, Martha Stewart.) You don't tend to get to the top by being the world's most balanced human being. Even the folksy Warren Buffett didn't quite manage a normal life—whatever that is. He had a second "wife" for many years whose existence he has been open about.

So what to make of the current fuss over Ghislaine? I haven't spoken to her or to Jeffrey, but I suspect that her